RHODESIANA

PUBLICATION No. 39

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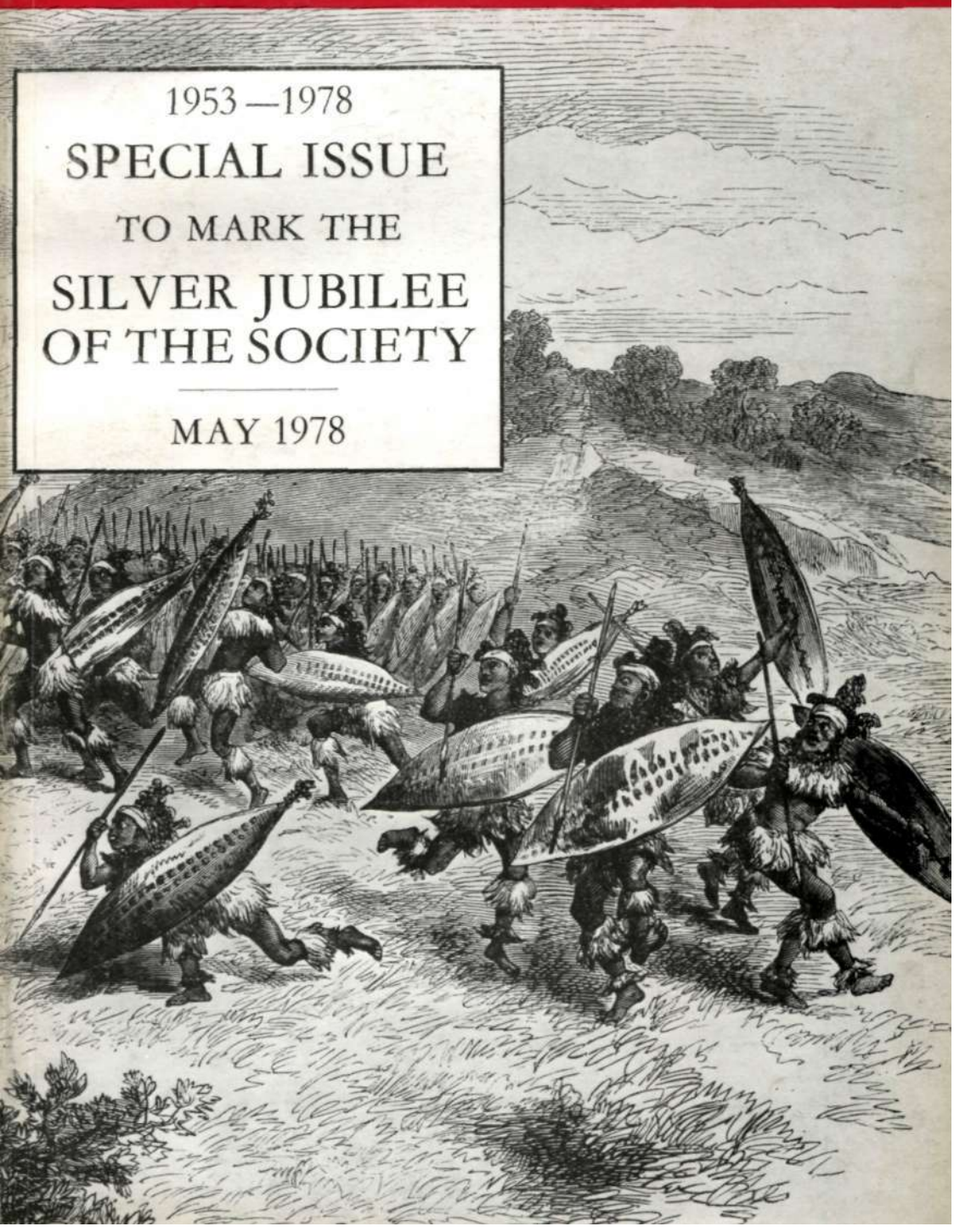
1953—1978

SPECIAL ISSUE

TO MARK THE

SILVER JUBILEE OF THE SOCIETY

MAY 1978



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RHODESIANA

Publication No. 39 — September 1978

THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY
Salisbury
Rhodesia

Edited by

W. V. BRELSFORD

Assisted by

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SPECIAL JUBILEE ISSUE

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The cover picture is of the Ndebele Great Dance. It is from an engraving in "The Illustrated London News"', 1872, after a sketch by Thomas Baines.

The Rhodesiana Society

Founded 1953

The Society exists to promote Rhodesian historical studies and to encourage research. It also aims to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of the history of Rhodesia.

There is no entrance fee. The annual subscription is — for *individual and institutional membership* — R$5 or S.Af. Rand 6,75 or USS7,75. For *husband and wife membership* — R$6 or S.Af. Rand 8 or US$9,25 and entitles paid up members to both issues of *Rhodesiana* published during the year, dated March and September. The fee for *Life Membership* is R$75 or S.Af. Rand 100 or US$115.

For further information and particulars concerning membership please write to:

The National Honorary Secretary, Rhodesiana Society,
P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Salisbury, Rhodesia.

For information about Branch activities please write to:

Matabeleland Branch, P.O. Box 1614, Bulawayo.
Manicaland Branch, 12, Vumba Avenue, Umtali.
Mashonaland Branch, P.O. Box 3946, Salisbury.

Manuscripts will be welcomed by the Editor. They should preferably be typed in double spacing and.be complete with any illustrations. Copies of published works for review will also be welcomed.

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THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY'S GOLD MEDAL

The Society periodically awards a gold medal to individuals who have made either an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Rhodesiana Society or a major contribution to Rhodesian history. The following have been the recpients:

1970 H. A. Cripwell.
Colonel A. S. Hickman, M.B.E.
The Rt. Hon. the Viscount Malvern, P.C., C.H., K.C.M.G., LL.D. (Posthumously)

1972 Dr. O. N. Ransford
G. H. Tanser

1975 M. J. Kimberley
H. A. B. Simons.

Any member may nominate, to the Honorary Secretary, a candidate for consideration for the award of a Gold Medal. Awards may be made at any time, but not necessarily annually.

1953—1978

SPECIAL ISSUE

To mark the

Silver Jubilee of the Society

May 1978

The Rhodesiana Society Silver Jubilee special train to Marandellas.
(Photo: courtesy The Herald)

A section of the large crowd of passengers listening to Alderman Tony Tanser at Melfort Siding where he gave an address on the history of the district.
(Photo: courtesy Sunday Mail)

The 1978 Silver Jubilee Celebrations 12th to 14th May

The introductory remarks made by the National Chairman, M, J. Kimberley, at the Symposium, the first of the public Jubilee events, give the full historical background to the celebrations.

Mr. Kimberley said:
"Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

"On the 8th May 1953 eight Rhodesians, two of whom, Alderman Tony Tanser and Mrs. Rhoda Ellis, are with us today, attended a meeting in Salisbury of persons interested in the formation of a society for preserving Africana in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

"The meeting was convened by Mr. Archie Cripwell and Mr. Brendan Lloyd and those present agreed to form a society and appointed an interim committee to draft a constitution.

"Shortly thereafter, on the 12th June 1953, the Rhodesian Africana Society was formally established to further the interests of collectors of Rhodesiana and to assist in the preservation of books and documents relating to the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. A constitution was adopted, an annual subscription of £1 1s. 0d. was decided upon and a committee consisting of Messrs. Cripwell as Chairman, Lloyd as Secretary and Hannan, Tanser and Van Heerden as additional committee members, was elected.

"Twenty-five years later, that Society, now called The Rhodesiana Society and with its principal objects being "to promote Rhodesian Historical studies, to encourage historical research, and to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of Rhodesian history," celebrates its 25th anniversary.

"The past twenty-five years have been rewarding and exciting and the Society with its 1 150 members in Rhodesia and some 20 countries around the world can look back on its achievements with satisfaction and pride.

"Apart from its publications — and our Journal is now in its 38th Volume —- the Society has done much through its tours and expeditions, which nowadays are organised by its Manicaland, Mashonaland and Matabeleland branches, to enable members in particular and Rhodesians in general to relive our glorious past. It is therefore most appropriate that we should celebrate and commemorate our Silver Jubilee by a number of functions, events and exhibitions."

THE FUNCTIONS, EVENTS, AND EXHIBITIONS

Discussion in the National Executive Committee began a year before the due date and at the end of 1977 a special National Co-ordinating Committee was set up to arrange specific events and exhibitions. It comprised — M. J. Kimberley (National Chairman), R. W. S. Turner (Deputy National Chairman), J. G. Storry (Hon. National Secretary), E. E. Burke, C. W. H. Loades, G. H. Tanser, R. C. Smith and R. D. Franks. Since the celebrations took place in Salisbury the Mashonaland Branch Committee gave invaluable assistance throughout the period.

The celebrations were formally opened on 12th May by a special Retreat Ceremony at Government House, Salisbury, generously given by the President of Rhodesia, the Hon. J. J. Wrathall, G.C.L.M., I.D., for members of the Society and their wives.

On Saturday 13th a full day's Symposium of five lectures was held on the subject of "Rhodesia — from Foundation to Federation". A banquet was held on the same evening. On the following day, Sunday 14th, a nostalgic steam train journey was made to Marandellas and return. This was the highlight of the celebrations, no fewer than 550 people making the journey. A brochure was published giving the history of places on the route — Marandellas, Melfort and Bromley.

The Committee also arranged a National High Schools Art Exhibition and a National High Schools Essay Competition.

The publication of a Portfolio of six Historical Botanical Prints in full colour was arranged and the sale of commemorative beer mugs bearing the Society's crest proved very popular.

Many other societies and institutions joined in support and put on exhibitions or arranged events to coincide with the Rhodesiana celebrations. These were — The National Archives, The National Art Gallery, the Prehistory Society, the Rhodesia Heraldry and Genealogy Society, the Mashonaland Photographic Society and the Vintage Car Club of Rhodesia.

The full texts of the five lectures will be given, details of publications, etc., and full descriptions of all the events and exhibitions will be found below in this issue of the journal.

THE MANICALAND BRANCH

The Manicaland Branch celebrated the Society's Jubilee during Umtali's Aloe Week, 2nd July to 10th July, in collaboration with the Umtali Museum which staged an exhibit to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the arrival in Umtali of the Beira and Mashonaland Railway.

On 2nd July Mr. C. K. Cooke, the Keeper of Antiquities at the Museum and a well known contributor to *Rhodesiana* gave a talk on C. J. Rhodes, emphasising that he first set foot on Rhodesia in the Umtali district. After the talk members were invited to attend the Penhalonga Country Club to survey the border (from a distance!) where he entered the country. (There is some local argument about the exact point).

SOUVENIRS

In addition to the events and exhibitions several souvenirs of the occasion were produced by the Society.

Salisbury-Marandellas Line, is the title of Mashonaland Branch Brochure No. 8. It is a souvenir of the train journey to Marandellas taken on Sunday 14th May. (See below for full report). The brochure contains a history of the Society, by M. J. Kimberley, a map of the area and a history of the Melfort, Bromley and Marandellas area by G. H. Tanser. It was generously produced by National Breweries for the Society. Numbered copies, price 50 cents plus postage are obtainable from the Secretary, Mashonaland Branch. Rhodesiana Society, Box 3946, Salisbury.

A Portfolio of Historic Botanical Prints will be published by the Society in a subscribers' edition, limited to 500 copies. Six beautiful botanical prints in full colour will be reproduced from the following classical works on the flora of Southern Africa: *Africanarum Plantarum* by Johannes Burmannus, 1738-39; *Specimens of the Flora of South Africa,* by A. E. Roupell, 1849; and the *Flowering Plants of Africa* by the Division of Botany, Pretoria. The size of the portfolio will be 370 mm by 510 mm, gold blocked on face, and the prints will be removable for framing. Price $15 from the Hon. National Secretary.

Beer Mugs. A commemorative and limited issue of 200 pottery beer mugs, bearing the Society's Crest, was made. The whole issue was sold out at $3 per mug.

MICHAEL J. KIMBERLEY

The outstanding success of the Society's Jubilee Celebrations was due, in no small way, to the energy, drive and enthusiasm of the National Chairman, Michael J. Kimberley and'he is worthy of a special note in this Jubilee issue of the journal.

Michael J. Kimberley was born in Gwelo and is a grandson of the late T. G. Chalmers, an 1895 Pioneer. He was educated at Milton Junior School, Bulawayo; Kingswood College, Grahamstown; and the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Michael J. Kimberley, National Chairman, Rhodesiana Society.

He graduated from University with a B.A. and an LL.B. He was the first Rhodesian to be elected President of the Students' Representative Council.

On leaving university he joined the staff of the Federal Attorney-General in Salisbury in 1960 as a Law Officer/Crown Counsel. At the break up of the Federation he became Legal Adviser to the City of Salisbury. In 1975 he joined the Electricity Supply Commission as Legal Adviser and was appointed Secretary to the Commission in 1978.

He joined the Rhodesiana Society in January 1955 whilst a university undergraduate. He became Secretary of the Society in January 1962 and served in that position for eleven years. He was Mashonaland Branch Chairman from 1975 to 1977 and has been National Chairman since March 1977.

He was awarded the Society's Gold Medal in 1976 for his outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society.

Keenly interested in indigenous flora, particularly aloes and other succulent plants, he became a Founder Member in 1969 of the Aloe, Cactus and Succulent Society of Rhodesia. He has served as National Chairman of that society and has been editor, since Volume One (1971) of its internationally acclaimed journal, *Excelsa.* He was elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society of London in 1976.

Among his other activities he is Deputy Chairman of the National Trust of Rhodesia and a founder member of the Conservation Trust of Rhodesia.

In the literary field he is the author of several articles in *Rhodesiana* and is presently writing a series of biographies of Rhodesian High Court Judges, the first of which has already appeared in *Rhodesiana.* He has written forty articles on aloes, other succulents and biographies of botanists.

He is married to Rosemary, daughter of Professor R. E. Lighton and granddaughter of the late Frank T. Lighton, an 1893 Rhodesian Pioneer. They have two sons, Richard and Christopher, both at school at Peterhouse, Marandellas.

NADA VOL. XI, NO. 5, 1978

The most important feature in this issue of the Annual of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is a complete index to NADA, Vols. I. to XI, 1923-1978, compiled by M. E. Hayes. Students, teachers and researchers, as well as officials working with Africans, will find it an invaluable guide to what has been written about African history, culture, traditions and the way of life in Rhodesia.

The most interesting article, for the layman, is "The Korsten Basketmakers" by Dawson Munjeri. These people and their wares are a feature of the roads on the outskirts of most Rhodesian towns. But few people realise that they are members of a religious organisation, the Gospel of God Church or the *Vapostori.* Founded in 1932 by Johane Masowe, who, reputedly, resurrected from the grave in the Norton district, they have been moved around by various governments in South and Central Africa. The name Korsten comes from their last home in South Africa from where they were deported to Rhodesia in 1962. Their Rhodesian headquarters is in Seke but, one and a half million strong, they are scattered throughout ten African countries with their headquarters in a large building in Nairobi. They are active workers in many other economic fields but one rule of conduct is that they must not become employees of any person or organisation; they must live and work in communities. Communalism is complete, no one can have any private assets.

Mrs. G. M. Masterson continues her memories of a Native Commissioner's wife. J. H. Bannerman writes on the history of the Hlengwe tribe and T. W. F. Jordan on the Victoria Master Farmers' Association. There are other features and notes of interest, especially a list of senior honours and awards granted to the staff of the Ministry since 1973.

The Symposium

Rhodesia — Foundation To Federation

A Symposium on the theme "Rhodesia — Foundation to Federation" was held in the Great Indaba Room at the Monomatapa Hotel on the morning and afternoon of 13th May. The Symposium was arranged by the Mashonaland Branch.

About 150 people attended. Five lectures, roughly in chronological order, were given, each being followed by questions and discussion.

The five lectures were:

"Oral Traditions: Some Speculations" by C. J. K. Latham, M.L.M.

"The Explorations of the Portuguese and the Spread of Portuguese Influence" by R. W. Dickinson, B.A., Dip.Ed., M.A.

"19th Century Hunters and Explorers" by E. E. Burke, M.L.M., F.L.A.

"The Administrators" by J. G. Storry, J.P.

"The Settlers" by Professor R. S. Roberts, Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.

The full texts of the lectures are given below.

THE LECTURERS

Following are brief biographical notes on the lecturers:

C. J. K. LATHAM *(Oral Traditions: Some Speculations)* was born in Tanganyika (now Tanzania) in 1934. He was educated in the Republic of South Africa obtaining a B.A. at Rhodes University. He joined the Colonial Service and, for a short period, worked in Tanganyika. For over twenty years now he has been with Internal Affairs in Rhodesia serving as District Commissioner at Chibi, Buhera, Marandellas and, for the past five years, at Darwin. He is a Rhodesia Government examiner in the Shona language and in Shona customs. He is currently registered with Rhodes University for a post-graduate degree studying the socio-political aspects of the Shona religion. His main interests are in anthropology, ethnology and ethno-history.

R. W. DICKINSON *(The Explorations of the Portuguese and the Spread of Portuguese Influence)* is Senior Tutor at the University of Rhodesia. He is an Honours History graduate of Durham University, with special interest in the archaeology of Hadrian's Wall. (He was a student of Professor Ian Richmond). He had war service with the R.A.F. followed by teaching in Devon. He came to Rhodesia in 1951 and served successively in the European and African education departments. He took an M.A. at Cape Town University with distinction for a thesis on "Sofala and the Rivers of Cuama". (He was a student of Professor Eric Axelson).

E. E. BURKE, M.L.M., F.L.A. *(Nineteenth Century Hunters and Explorers)* began his library career before the war in the Birmingham Public Libraries and in the Lancashire County Library. He became a Chartered Librarian in 1939. He joined the British Army in 1939, was seconded to the King's African Rifles, 1941-44, serving in the United Kingdom, East Africa, Ceylon, India, Burma and Germany. He retired with the rank of Captain. He came to Rhodesia as librarian with the Central African Archives in 1946 and served with Archives in various capacities until he retired at the end of 1977. In 1954-55 he visited libraries and archives in the U.S.A. on a State Department Grant. From 1964 to 1970 he was Deputy Director, National Archives of Rhodesia. In 1967 he surveyed government libraries on behalf of the Public Services Board which led to the establishment of a co-ordinated government library service. He was Director of the National Archives from 1970 to 1977 being awarded the M.L.M. in 1975 for services to National Archives. He is the author or editor of several publications — 1952, *Bibliography of Cecil John Rhodes:* 1969, edited *Journals of Carl Mauch,* 1869-72: 1970 *Guide to the Historical Manuscripts in the National Archives* (with T. W. Baxter). He has had over 50 articles published on historical and library subjects. He edited *Rhodesiana* from 1963-7 and has been Assistant Editor from 1960. He has also edited NADA since 1974. In May 1978 he was appointed librarian to Parliament. He has been on the National Executive of the Rhodesiana Society since 1963 and, among other positions, he is President of the Rhodesia Library Association and a Trustee of National Museums and Monuments.

JOHN GUY STORRY *(The Administrators)* was born in Yorkshire in 1933 and educated at St. Edmund's School, Canterbury. He served with the North Staffordshire Regiment in England and Trieste. In 1953 he emigrated to Rhodesia and served in the British South Africa Police from that year until 1964, being stationed in the Manicaland, Mashonaland and Victoria Provinces. In 1964 he joined the staff of the Public Prosecutor, Salisbury, and was Called to the Bar by Gray's Inn four years later. He is presently a Senior Law Officer in the Office of the Attorney-General for Rhodesia.

He is the author of *Rhodesian Criminal Practice,* a legal work on the law of criminal procedure, *The Shattered Nation,* a history of the Matabele, *Jubilee Scrapbook:* 1952-1977, an account of the history of the Order of St. John in Rhodesia, and in excess of twenty articles and published papers on the prehistory, history and heraldry of Rhodesia. For the past three years, he has been the National Honorary Secretary of the Society.

PROFESSOR R. S. ROBERTS, Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S. *(The Settlers)* is Professor of History at the University of Rhodesia. He was at school in London and at the Universities of London and Zagreb. He obtained a Ph.D. specialising in social and economic history of Britain and he carried out research in demographic and medical history. He has been a lecturer in Urban History in the School of Architecture and Planning of the Polytechnic of Central London and

Lecturer in Social and Economic History at the Universities of Reading and London. He first came to Rhodesia in 1967 on secondment from the University of London. He was appointed Professor of History at the University of Rhodesia in 1969. Since he has been here he has turned to Rhodesian history, especially its economic aspects, and is now working on a history of accountancy and on the beef cattle industry. He founded and edits the learned journal *Rhodesian History.*

AFRICAN EXPLORATION

A History of African Exploration by David Mountfield is a comprehensive work concentrating on Africa south of the Sahara. Egypt and other countries to the north of the desert have always belonged to the Mediterranean world and had little interest in the countries to the south until Islam spread across the continent. Then, the far-ranging Arab traders that followed in the wake of the warriors first ventured into the vast areas of black Africa.

The author emphasises that it was not physical barriers that kept the European out of the interior for so long. The strongest motive for the exploration of unknown lands has always been trade and the first European traders of the 14th and 15th centuries seldom had necessity to travel inland. All the gold, ivory and, especially, slaves, could be gathered at the coast. It was the political rivalries of the 18th and 19th centuries that spurred the "opening-up" of Africa.

Very few comprehensive histories of such a vast subject have been attempted but this large volume is not a rehash of earlier books. It updates our knowledge by making use of the many recent writings (including those of our member, O. N. Ransford) that have cast new light on the achievements of the early explorers and in some cases, led to a reassessment of their characters. All the great names are here and a good many not so celebrated.

For various reasons the story ends with the conquest of the Congo by Stanley in 1874-77 so that a few well-known explorers, some connected with this part of the world, are left out.

This is a fascinating book profusely illustrated in colour and black and white and it is brilliantly written by an author who has a series of successful writings on exploration to his credit. (It is published by Hamlyn, 1976.)

Oral Traditions : Some Speculations

by C. J. K. Latham

I have been asked to address you today on the Monomatapa kingdom. I am deeply flattered and whilst conscious of the great honour am even more lively to the fact that my qualifications for standing before you are entirely inadequate. Indeed, I feel something of a fraud.

By way of introduction let me tell you how I became involved in the discipline of history which as a University student I regarded as a subject which had to be endured in order to avoid less pleasant consequences.

My own particular field of enquiry is anthropology, more specifically the on-going aspects of culture change brought about by culture contact and what some would call social engineering; and more recently the functional religion of the Mashona.

In 1963 I was tasked with heading a research team to determine the functional communities which would form the basis for local government and community development organisation in the tribal areas. This took me into nearly every district in the country.

We found that the local community centred around the chief or sub-chief and they saw themselves as a unit through their common judicial and land authority. We found that territorial affiliation was very important — the territorial imperative popularised by Robert Ardrey. Claims to territoiy were invariably based on historical criteria. What Krige has referred to as Charter Myths, gave historical and juridical substance to claims over real estate. So I found myself getting involved more and more in the collection of oral traditions and genealogies as a means of defining present day community and tribal affiliation. I became fascinated. And so my interest developed into a wider desire to delve into the origins of the early proto Shona peoples, their migration routes and their eventual dispersion within what is now Rhodesia.

My study of oral traditions, collected over a very wide area, ranging from Bikita in the South to Mount Darwin and Sipolilo in the North, led me to speculate on the development of the polities that emerged as the result of migrations, in turn the result of segmentation and amalgamation of tribes brought about by conflict and conquest and the dynamics of demography.

At no time did I supplement my collection and rather superficial analysis or oral tradition with the study of recorded history or the speculative writings of historians. Mine was purely a study of oral tradition. It was left to Abraham and more lecently Dr. David Beach to take the fascinating study further by painstakingly relating fact to legend and producing an eventual synthesis. I was left behind long ago in this adventure as my own researches eventually forced me back to my real objectives. However, my interest in the subject has remained

undiminished. And my understanding of what took place here over the centuries is unfettered by the more disciplined researches of Beach and others. I can afford the luxury of imaginative reconstruction, romantic interpretations and a rehashing of oral traditions. For I have merely been a recorder, collector and interpreter of legend.

My reconstruction of the past, because it is based almost entirely on oral tradition — the Charter Myths and legends of the Shona/Karanga peoples can therefore be more speculative, more romantic if you like, and need not be fettered by the disciplined research of true historians. The canvas of history can be painted in bolder, impressionistic strokes without concern for accuracy of details. I will recall two primary Charter legends and may draw on others less widely known to construct the possible sweep of history from the early birth of the Karanga or Proto Shona polities until the final disintegration of the "Monomatapa" influence of recent times.

The first of these legends was told to me in 1964 by Misi Gumunyu. Misi Gumunyu was then a man in his 80's; heavily built and imbued with enormous dignity. He was a very senior Jinda, prince, of the Varozvi clan. He had certain justification in asserting that he was amongst the few who could lay claim to the title Mambo or king. Gumunyu's fascinating story was tape recorded and what follows is a synopsis of his tale. I quote —

Our forefathers lived in a place called Samangai, which is a very old town beyond the seas. There came a time when the people became many and their king, Mambo Sororezhou, declared that they must depart from Samangai. He said "Oh! this nation (Rudzi) is big. It is better that we cross the water". So they built their boats and they made big torches; they put stones and sand in the bottom of the boats on which they placed their fire, their torches, and then they entered into the boats. They made fire for sacrifices (Moto Unopira) so that they could be carried safely across the water by their God, Mwari. At that time Sororezhou had many people with him, included amongst these was Chigwangu who was a priest or wizard and was also called Munhumutapa. There were many other vachinda or royal princes, as well as makota, councillors, or ministers of state.

Now they left and crossed the sea sailing across the ocean to the south until they came to land at the mouth of a great river. Here they landed and left their boats. Together they all travelled until they came to Giri mountain. Here they stopped and there was consultation amongst the leaders. Chigwangu said; "We cannot stay together now that we have discovered this great land, I propose to move northwards following the coast." Soroezhou said: "I will go to the hinterland".

Misi Gumunyu then confines himself to Sororezhou's adventures and again I quote: "They travelled on and reached the hill of Rukungubwe where they settled and built edifices of stone."

After some time Mwari spoke to them and told them to move again as this was not the place. So Sororezhou moved on with his followers leaving

others behind who became his children, the Bavenda, and came at last to Zimbabwe.

And there they settled for a long time and from time to time they would receive visits from the others (i.e. Bavenda) and they would slaughter cattle to sacrifice to Mwari and to celebrate the coming from their original place.

Eventually their Voice (Hwi Ravo) spoke to them and said "Leave here! this is not where I want you to stay!" So they left and went to the area of Mabwemachena (the Matopos).

They stayed at the Matopos and built other stone buildings. And here too they tamed cattle and sacrificed them to the Njerere (sparrow hawk) — the "Zimbabwe Bird"?

I move now to the second important Charter legend which gives substance to our story. This is the legend of Mutota and his migration from the south.

Mutota, the first Monomatapa recorded in oral tradition, was the son or grandson of one Chimbatamatosi who is said to have been part of the original Rosvi/Karanga migration. He is said to have resided in the legendary land of Guru-uswa (Big Grass).

Guru-uswa is the name of the country claimed by people in Northern and Central Mashonaland to be the original home of their ancestors. Assuming the invasion of the original settlers to have been down the coast, then up the main river systems towards Victoria Province and then slowly north, it seems that Guru-uswa may be identified with the area of the central watershed between Enkeldoorn, Wedza and Beatrice. The fact that Guru-uswa is said to refer to an area of grassy plains would tend to support this supposition.

It is related that Mutota grew tired of the continuous lack of salt in Guru-uswa. He sent his *munyai* (emissary) Nyakutonje, on an expedition to the north to find the saltpans of the Zambesi Valley (ivu ripinde rimwe).

Nyakutonje is reported to have brought back news that he had found the saltpans and that the tribe need no longer continue extracting salt from the ashes of goat's dung.

The Mutota migration to the Valley commenced in order to settle the tribe near these salt-pans. However, as was so often the case, Mutota never reached the promised land. According to some legends Mutota died in the neighbourhood of the Musengezi River. There are conflicting legends concerning his burial. One thing is certain however and that is that he was buried at Tunyu Tusere (the place of the Eight Small Baobab Trees).

It was common practice in those days, and until fairly recently in some places, for successors to the great chieftainships to fortify their installation by the practice of ritual incest with a sister. This was known as the Kupinga Pasi ceremony.

This was necessary with Mutota's death, but at first none of his brothers, or sons, could bring themselves to perfotm such an unnatural act. Finally Nobedza agreed to do this and he was given his sister Nehanda in ritual marriage. After performing the task Nehanda was so disgusted with herself she disappeared with her followers into a rock which is to this day known as the Gumbi re Nehanda.

Nehanda has subsequently become the great ambuya of the Northern Shona people. The subsequent history of the Mutota people, the Munhumutapas of history, is the subjugation of various neighbouring tribes, the settling of migrant groups and the allocation of districts to minor chieftainships.

With few exceptions all chieftainships in the Mount Darwin and Sipolilo districts and some in Bindura and Shamva and as far south as Mazoe were finally allocated their areas by the Munhumutapa, Mukombwe perhaps the last of the great Munhumutapas. He was known as the Goveranyika, which means to divide or create the boundaries of the country.

It was at one time fashionable to decry the greatness of the Munhumutapa Empire. However, if one considers the primitive form of administration, of communication and relates this to the size of the area which fell under the sway of the Munhumutapas, one must marvel how they managed to hold together the people in such a large area.

Investigations that I have carried out, based, and I stress this, on oral tradition only, indicate that the minimum size of the empire formed, by contemporary European standards, a large kingdom. It appears to have stretched in the north to the Zambesi, in the south to a line running somewhere north through Salisbury, in the east towards the Inyanga Heights, and in the west taking in the land up towards the confluence of the Sanyati and Zambesi Rivers.

Another version of the Mutota migration comes from Sipolilo. George Kupara, the late spirit medium for Mutota relates the following:

He said that Mutota came from Mbire which they identify with the area around Wedza and Marandellas. This further strengthens the argument that migration into the Valley was from the south and from the central watershed area.

Nyakutonje had discoverd salt and he took some of this to Guru-uswa where he encountered Mutota and his friend Chinguwo. Motota offered Nyakutonje sadza to eat and in return the latter offered salt to mix with the food. Mutota so liked the taste that he exclaimed "This servant shall not be allowed to go away: the spirits of our forefathers have blessed us". He enquired of Nyakutonje from whence he had come and where he had acquired the salt. Nyakutonje agreed to lead them to the area.

At first the party settled at Mount Wedza. Later they moved on to Harare, then through the Mazoe Valley. Some families grew tired along the route and remained in the Mazoe Valley area.

Later a stop was made at the Umvukwes Mountains (The Great Dyke), where a meeting was held. At this meeting a decision was made as to the direction in which the various groups should go. Mutota followed Nyakutonje northwards while Chinguwo proceeded westwards to the country known as Guruwe. Mutota's intention was to make miracles and take over control of the Dande. He said to Nyakutonje "When we are near the Dande and before we reach the crest of the hill I require you to tell me so that I will be able to prepare my magic". Nyakutonje did not obey these instructions and when they reached the Chitako Hills they climbed to the top and Mutota was shown the flat country of the Dande. As a result his miracles failed because he had seen the country with his eyes.

Mutota was disappointed. He held back and built his home at Gomwe Hill. Later Mutota's people brought eight baobab trees from the Dande and planted them at the village.

According to this legend the successor to Mutota was Nobedza. Mutota also had a daughter by the name of Nehanda.

Nobedza was followed by Nyahuma who was followed by Chikunu who was followed by Chimvere who was followed by Mavura who was followed by Mukombwe, who I have already mentioned, who was followed by Chirwuriyanga who was followed by Chiwawa who was followed by Nyamushanga who was followed by Virimba. Upon Virimba's death his sons Muzarabani and Chitsungo founded their own chieftainships. At that time the empire was in decay.

Further tradition in the Muzarabani area relates that Nyamhita was made princess of the district of Handa. As princess of Handa she acquired the title of Nehanda. As such she is venerated as the great female ancestral spirit of all the Korekore speaking people and the Tavara clans, and in fact southwards towards Salisbury taking in a large number of the Zezuru people. She is one of the great Mhondoro and rain petitioning spirits.

Nehanda was childless and after the ritual incest she was so disgusted with herself that she retired to her country and disappeared into a small hill. Rain ceremonies are performed there to this day.

It is interesting to note that there are other areas which also claim to have mediums who represent Nehanda. The reason for this is that a further legend in the Chimanda area and elsewhere states that after the ceremony she did not completely disappear, but rather cut all ties with her relations in the Dande and returned to the south. She did not stay with the Varozvi but settled with the Vagumbo, the Gutu people who at that stage lived near Domboshawa. This later became Chief Hwata's country and there to this day, near Christon Bank, she is petitioned each year at the shrines of Shavarunzvi.

As a brief digression, it is noteworthy that the medium of Nehanda of the Hwata area played an important part in the Shona War of Resistance of 1896.

She was executed at Salisbury prison on the 27th April, 1898. Kakubi and eleven other men were also executed. They all died quietly and with dignity, having been baptised by the Rev. Father Richards of Chishawasha mission, with the exception of Nehanda's medium who was the only woman condemned. She refused to listen to the priest and danced and laughed, shouting hysterically before the execution. She called for her people and wanted to return to her country near the Mazoe and die there. She resisted to the last and had to be carried up to the scaffold. She has subsequently become a greatly revered figure amongst the Shona people and is regarded by them as somewhat of a martyr and national figure of reistance.

Legend about the subsequent Munuhumutapas as mentioned earlier is not comprehensive. Traditions such as they exist refer to individual clan relationships with the reigning monarch who is generally referred to by the generic title of Mutota. Other legends refer to the conquest of new areas and peoples such as the subjugation of the Vatawara along the Mukumbura in the area of Choma where by the use of magic the cult centre of Dzivaguru was finally absorbed, the stories of other clans migrating into the area from the southeast such as Dotito in Mount Darwin and Chimanda in the present day Rushinga district.

Throughout the area legend substantiates the hypothesis that there was constant jostling for position and frequent skirmishes between the various chieftainships which comprised the overall empire. Dynastic disputes were common and it is undoubtedly the result of these internecine feuds, coupled with the lack of speedy communication and the written word, which led to the final decay of the once flourishing organisation. Legend has it that the last of the Munuhumutapas lived north of Mukumbura in a state of abject poverty and controlled little more than his own village.

Let us now examine the story of the legends.

We know that Oceanic people settled the North Eastern seaboard of Africa in the Tenth century. We also know that the introduction of exotic foods such as the yam caused a population explosion amongst the true Negroid peoples which caused them to move east out of the Congo basin.

Further, we know that the Arabian peoples, dating back to the Sabean era traded the east coast and its adjoining hinterland. It is therefore well within the bounds of possibility that a hybrid peoples with a vigorous hybrid culture was created out of this amalgam and ventured down the coast, to settle the South Western seaboard and Madagascar. (Trees growing in the Chibi district known there as Matupotupo (Mutupo means clan or totem), that is the Bivinia Jauberti, are common in Madagascar but on the mainland continent are known only in Abyssinia. Could some of our people have come here via Madagascar?). These people could well have moved into the cool upland plateau of Rhodesia and drawing on their past cultural and genetic skills created the Zimbabwe/ Karanga culture and political organiation. They would have absorbed many

autocthones and later may well have been joined by related groups using the overland routes to the south.

Let us picture then these hardy adventurers, led by men of deep religious convictions in their close association with their God, arriving on the east coast of what is now Mozambique and finding a huge and largely empty land. We see them revelling in the space and breadth of their new environment but perhaps finding the coastal belt somewhat too hot and disease infested. Undaunted by the vastness of the area and lured to further discovery they split up, some to go north along the coast and then perhaps moving inland to the distant hills of the escarpment; the others again following the obvious course of pushing up the big rivers, probably the Limpopo.

Eventually, after a lengthy migration, some of their members stopped off at Rukungubwe — Mapungubwe in the N. Transvaal, as we know it today — where they founded a new colony and remain as the Venda of today.

The main body pushed on to settle finally at Zimbabwe which became the centre of their theocratic state and was to remain such for several centuries. Trading mainly in gold and ivory contact was made with the coast, and, through a common diety and system of worship, with the scattered communities which went out to settle the land.

From the earliest times, it seems that there was a division of the people into two main groups which in turn were sub-divided into smaller semi-autonomous groups.

As time went by the restless spirit of independence accentuated by the urge for conquest and possibly economic pressures (salt being almost a form of currency) Mutota broke away from the more settled area of central Mashonaland and moved further north. In this new environment he rapidly gained in wealth and stature as he gleaned the rich harvest of ivory and gold and subjugated the scattered and ill-organised tribes he encountered. His lauditory title would support this interpretation — Kupapa means to pillage and rape.

At this early stage he probably still acknowledged the dominion of his southern sovereign but as time went by his power and wealth would have caused him to break away and perform the uniquely Rhodesian act of UDI. It could be argued that he attempted conquest along his southern marches in a bid to gain control over the whole Karanga confederation. But it seems doubtful if the north ever ruled the south, any more than the south ever really controlled the north. But certainly oral tradition from the Central areas suggest that they were subjected to constant turmoil as the powers sparred with each other.

In the south, for other reasons, Zimbabwe ceased eventually to be the centre of power and a move was made to Khami.

The strength and cohesion of the people seemed to be weakening possibly due to the built-in social mechanism of segmentation which is a part of Shona social organisation even today.

In the north the same seemed to be happening. Segmentation, internecine feuding and weakening communication seemed to sap the vitality of the people. Finally, the Nguni moved up from the south and overran the decaying Shona/ Karanga nation and would doubtless have created a new state, had not Rhodes' restless spirit perpetuated yet another conquest.

But as we sit here today, ladies and gentlemen, we are about to move on to another chapter in the history of this land.

It is not too much to hope that the new Zimbabwe, enriched with a fresh vigour by the cultural hybridisation of the last 86 years will speed the nation on to a new glory, as exciting and as spectacular as Monomotapa or the ancient city of Great Zimbabwe itself.

EXCELSA

Excelsa is the annual journal of the Aloe, Cactus and Succulent Society of Rhodesia. The latest issue is No. 7, 1977. The editor, Michael J. Kimberley, mentions, with justifiable pride, that the journal is now read in some 25 countries outside Rhodesia.

As usual, the journal aims at offering something of interest not only to the professional botanist, horticulturist or natural historian but to the amateur and to the ordinary gardener.

There are fifteen articles. They range from scientific descriptions and discussions on specific species, and on botanical experiments, by various contributors including some from the U.S.A., the U.K. and South Africa to general articles such as: "Aloes in Mashonaland" (M. J. Kimberley), "Some Aspects of Five Salisbury Gardens" (Dorothy Popiel) and "A List of Succulents Occurring in Rhodesia" (R. B. Drummond). M. J. Kimberley contributes two biographical articles on significant botanists in the African field of the past — Johannes Burman (1707-1779) and Rudolph Marloth (1855-1931).

There are notes on recently published books and numerous excellent and attractive colour and black and white photographs.

Excelsa No. 7 is $5 per copy and Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are available at $3 and Nos. 5 and 6 at $4 per copy. The address of the Society is Box 8514, Causeway, Salisbury.

The Explorations of the Portuguese and the Spread of Portuguese Influence

by R. W. Dickinson

(Mr. Dickinson illustrated his lecture with slides. He has therefore adapted his verbal commentary version for publication and enlarged it by the addition of footnotes.—Editor)

Let me first set some boundaries for this lecture. For my geographic limits I choose Rhodesia extended to its natural coast and river environs, which you will realise gives me an excuse to talk about Sofala. The historic framework I have selected is, as far as exploration is concerned, from Gama, 1498, to Santos, 1609; when I briefly treat of Portuguese influence I will extend the period. Thematically my prime focus will be on what light the sources shed on the African people of S.E. Africa. (*A map — "The Indian Ocean in the 16th Century" was published in Rhodesiana No.* 22, *July* 1970. *Page* 21. *It is not repeated here.— Editor)*

A word first about the published sources, whose collections we might well call 'Ancient and Modern'. The 'Ancient' collection is that pioneering work of Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa.*[1] published in Cape Town from 1898 to 1903, which has Portuguese texts with English translations of letters by officals and extracts from the chroniclers and from *Ethiopia Oriental* by Santos, vicar of Sofala at the close of the 16th century.

By 'Modern' I mean the collection initiated and sustained by scholars past and present in our own National Archives and that of Lisbon, with many of whom I have had the very great pleasure of working in my research projects on Mozambique history. I think of Ted Burke, with his knowledge of the translated Arab sources, Eric Axelson, who researched the Lisbon archives just before the outbreak of World War II and who knows the coasts of East and South Africa. A most scholarly and readable account based closely on the documents is Axelson's *Portuguese in S.E. Africa,* 1488-1600, published in 1973.

The texts themselves are reproduced in *Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa,* 1497-1800,[2] published jointly by the Salisbury and Lisbon Archives of which 7 volumes have now appeared, taking the story to 1560. While on research in Lisbon I was privileged to meet Freire d'Andrade

1. Abbreviated in footnotes to *RSEA.*
2. Abbreviated in footnotes to *DPM.*

who composed the English translations to the texts. His constant reading while engaged in the task was Hakluyt, from whom he derived the Elizabethan English flavour which distinguishes his renderings. Freire d'Andrade's death a few years ago robbed those of us who knew him of a fine scholar and a charming companion.

A final source collection which is a delight to study is *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*[3], published in Lisbon in 1960 to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the death of Henry the Navigator. This magnificent series of map and chart reproductions covers the overseas expansion of Portugal.

Portuguese exploration of S.E. Africa falls broadly into two phases: 1498-1531 and from 1531 on. Phase I consists of coastal probing, gradually adding detail to charts for the caravel masters; phase II comprises riverine penetration along the Zambezi and its tributaries, providing progressively more information about the interior from which the all-important gold came. This can best be illustrated in a brief series of contemporary maps.

(See Ribeiro 1529) — One of the first maps to show coastal detail for the Sofala shoal is dated to 1529 and attributed to Ribeiro *(PMC* I 39). On it appear Sofala with its bay and island, the shoal so dangerous to navigation, the Hucicas Islands (the Bazaruto archipelago), the Rio de Bons Sinais (the Quelimane mouth of the Zambezi) and Angoche, north of the Zambezi.

(See Viegas 1577) — Chiloane Island[4] and Bangue (the Pungwe) are details added in a map of 1537 attributed to Viegas *(PMC* 1 49 A).

(See Dourado 1571) — Turning to phase II, significant inland content does not appear until Dourado's map of 1571 *(PMC* III 281) which sets broad limits to the kingdom of Sofala in river boundaries of the Zambezi and the Sabi and shows an island on the lower Cuama (Zambezi) close to Sena. Dourado does not name Sena in 1571, but in his revised map of 1580 *(PMC* III 322) the entrepot appears as 'Xena'. The 1571 map adds at the coast Sabanebamgo (a junction of Savane and Pungwe).

(See *Lopes* 1590) — Around 1590 one of the very few maps to show Angoche *south* of the Zambezi rather than in its true position *north* of the great river, was drawn by Lopes, a geographer and slave-trader *(PMC* III 386). A possible reason for the inaccuracy of the coastal information on this map is that it probably reflects an overland expedition between Angola and Mozambique. It was this false data, unfortunately, that Tracey used to support his argument that one of Antonio Fernandes' major journeys followed the Sabi route to the interior.

3. Abbreviated in illustration descriptions to *PMC.*
4. It is important for interpreters of Portuguese documents about Mozambique to know the geography of the areas dealt with. One mistake which occurs twice in the English translations, for instance, is to equate qloam with Kilwa. In *DPM* III p. 593, referring to Anaia's journey to Sofala, the place is rendered Kilwa, but should be Chiloane Island, close to Sofala, whereas Kilwa is 1 500 kilometres away. A similar error occurs in translating the letter of Brito, in *DPM* VI p. 12.

{See Teixeira I 1630) — The greatest of the 17th century Portuguese cartographers, Teixeira I, shows in his map of 1630 the increase in knowledge of the interior achieved by that date. The kingdoms of the Quiteve (Kiteve) and the Monomotapa inland trade posts at Luanze and Masapa, the territory of the fierce Mongas and the silver mines at Chicoia are the principal additions.

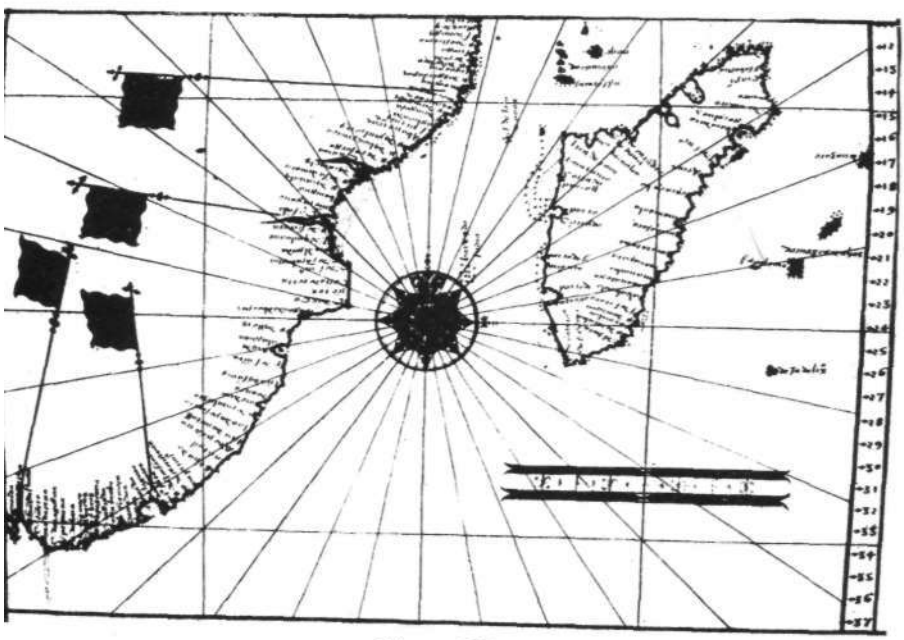
The watershed between phases I and II is 1531, the presumed date for the establishment of Sena, and the two phases overlap somewhat, particularly in the pioneering missions of Antonio Fernandes. I focus on the light which exploration shed on the indigenous peoples not because I believe the story of exploration to be lacking in interest. On the contrary, it is a tale of tremendous courage and great fascination. It has, however, been dealt with in such expert fashion by Axelson and Boxer, that I prefer not to duplicate their accounts.[5] A glance at the map will show that we can expect information about the Sofala coast, the Zambezi valley, Manicaland and N. Mashonaland. The Portuguese did not concern themselves with S. Mashonaland or Matabeleland where the successors to the monomotapa, the changamires, were raising impressive structures such as Khami and Nalatali. The broad groupings of African people commented on by the Portuguese in Mozambique were threefold: local Muslim, local non-Muslim and Africans of the hinterland.

Let us begin, briefly with Gama. On his first voyage to India he did not see Sofala, lacking a pilot who could identify the site on the vitrually featureless coast. At Quelimane and Mozambique Island, however, he learnt abut the position of the port whose significance was probably well known to the admiral from the reconnaissance of Covilha 10 years earlier. After a few visits by Portuguese flotillas to Sofala itself, Anaia was sent there in 1505 to establish a trade fort.[6] Originally constructed of mangrove poles and later rebuilt in lime-stone, this was the first European building in S.E. Africa. In the first garrison were three men who provided most interesting information about the people of Sofala and its hinterland. One of them was Martim Figueroa, a Castilian man-at-arms.[3] Modern readers of his account may doubt his veracity when they read this passage: "A marvel of this land is that wood sinks in the water, and stone floats." But the soldier was being entirely truthful, as I have proved for myself at Sofala, where pumice stone fragments occur on the beach and where mangrove, which Figueroa probably had to cut in the swamps during the fort construction, will sink if its cells are waterlogged.

Having established the credibility of the witness on this point, let us see what features of African life at Sofala struck him as noteworthy. He relates little about the Muslim trading community, probably because as a common soldier he did not have the opportunities presented to his superiors for observing them, but he gives an interesting miniature of the local peasantry. They were black, he notes, wore cotton garments and worshipped the sun and stars.

5. See for instance AXELSON, E., 1954, *South African Explorers.* London: and BOXER, C. R., (ed.), 1959, *The Tragic History of the Sea.* Cambridge.
6. See extracts from his account in *DPM* III pp. 586-632.

Ribeiro, 1529.



Viegas, 1577.

Women went bare-headed (a curiosity, no doubt, to a Roman Catholic of the 16th century), loading their legs with copper bangles and piercing their lips with six or seven holes. Millet dough cooked in pots was an important item of diet, while for meat, hornless sheep with thin fleece, and poultry supplemented products of the chase. Even rats were hunted. Crops included rice, millet, sugar-cane and the versatile coconut which provided wine, vinegar, 'honey', cord, timber and thatch, as well as a kind of cloth "for the poorest folk".

The millet dough is clearly a reference to African stiff porridge which was later to be made from maize. Hunting rats probably signifies the large cane rat which is still today regarded by Sofalan folk as a delicacy. Lip-piercing fashions are a feature not reported in Portuguese accounts of the hinterland, and probably betray the presence in Sofala of Macua from Quelimane and Angoche, where facial mutilation was recorded in the 16th century.

The first clerk of the trade-fort, Diogo de Alcacova, wrote a much fuller account of the communities of the coast and the hinterland. 'Clerk' is a term which disguises the fact that this was a post of some importance, equivalent to that of notary. The importance of the office is seen in the fact that the holder of it was entrusted with one of the three keys to the gold coffer of the fort, the other two being held by the captain and the factor. Alcacova was thus in a position to gain full information about the traders of Sofala. His letter to the king of Portugal, dated 20th November, 1506,[7] would therefore be based on personal knowledge of Sheikh Yusuf and his council.

Local Muslim traders lived in a small settlement close to the shore, numbering about 800, distinguishable from the thousands of African peasant-farmers and fishermen around them by their dress and way of life. They wore turbans and sashes, silk rather than cotton, and carried scimitars proclaiming their distinct traditions. In may ways, however, they were close to, even identical with, the indigenous community around them. Centuries ago their Swahili ancestors from as far north as Mogadishu, as the chronicler Barros tells us half a century later, had traded with the Sofala coast people and some had inter-married and settled there. As generation succeeded generation, the physical features of the Sofalan Muslims resembled closely that of their African relatives at Sofala. The historian Castanheda, collating in the mid 16th century the pioneer stories, declares that Sheikh Yusuf was a handsome *black* man. True, he bore a Hamitic name (Joseph) and lived in a larger house than his neighbours, but he was recognisably African even in the weapons he used — spears rather than the scimitar. The traders' houses identified their owners with the traditional Sofalan peasantry rather than distinguishing them, being of pole and daga, with thatched roof, for the very good reason that Sofala had no good building stone. (The masonry of the fort consisted of limestone from Portugal and also from the demolition of Muslim Kilwa). In religion, as in dress and life-style, the tiny trading community was distinct from its neighbours. The Koran was the sacred

7. See *DPM* I, pp. 389-399.

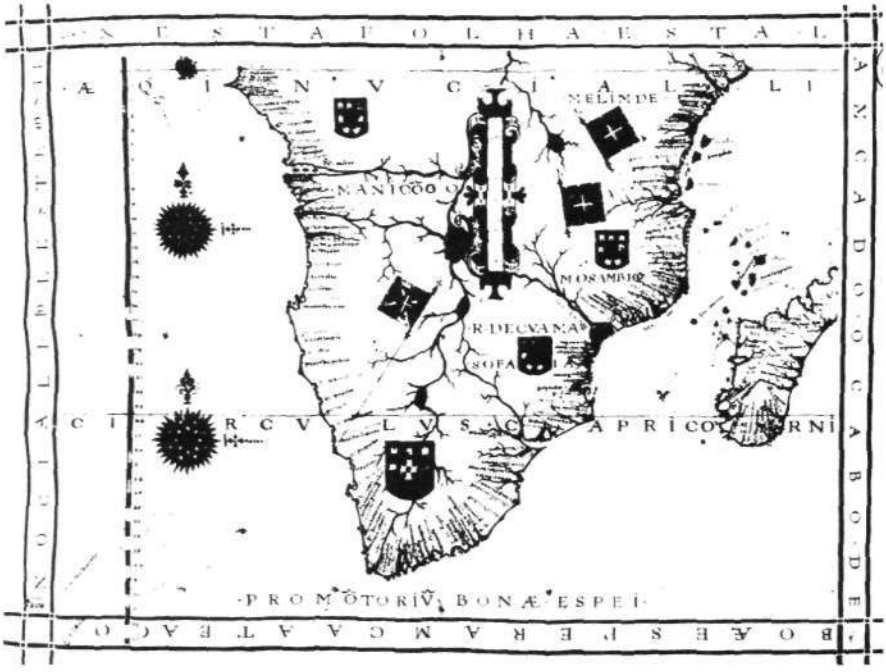
book, but as a later writer remarks, the art of writing does not appear to have survived in this remote corner of Islam.[8]

Other documents closely contemporary with the letter of Alcacova show us the links the Sofalan Muslims preserved with inland trade fairs — possibly only dry season entrepots near the villages of chiefs in Manicaland and N. Mashonaland, with Muslim settlements at the Sabi mouth and the Bazaruto archipelago, and with larger ones at Quelimane and the island of Angoche.

Alcacova's report on the African chiefdoms inland centred, naturally, on their connections with the gold trade. He wrote of the one who claimed overlordship of Karanga lands and their gold, the monomotapa, his Zimbabwe or capital, and of the 12 year old power struggle between the monomotapas and the changmires.[9] This account was to be supplemented within the next 10 years by the third foundation member of the Sofala garrison, Antonio Fernandes, and it will be convenient to fuse the two accounts under our consideration of Fernandes.

What provoked the Portuguese to penetrate the hinterland itself? After all, if they simply continued to use Muslim agents they could surely stay at the coast and wait for the gold to come to them there. The fact is that the gold trade at Sofala was proving very disappointing. Alcacova estimated that over a million miticals of gold used to pass through Sofala annually in the heyday of Muslim trade there. Documents surviving for the period 1506-1518 give for five documented years of trade a total of 54 887 miticals, or an annual average of 10 977 miticals, of which the first 11 months accounted for 8 176 miticals, and this was artifically boosted by the vast injection of looted oriental trade goods from Almeida's harrying of the northern E. African ports. In the first five years of Portuguese presence at Sofala it became increasingly evident to the newcomers that the gold and ivory trade was being largely siphoned off from Sofala to Angoche, north of the Zambezi. The terrain between the two ports and the great river route which bisected their hinterland was very imperfectly krrown to the Portuguese, and the most energetic captain Sofala ever had, Antonio de Saldanha, determined to have the region explored, to reveal facts about the sources of gold, who controlled its collection and trade, the routes by which it reached the coast, the type and quantity of goods which drew the gold and food supplies along the routes. He employed the usual Portuguese expendable human resource of the 16th century, the *degrados*, men condemned in Portugal for various crimes and offered freedom in return for undertaking dangerous missions

8. The 16th century chronicler Correa remarks that the Sheikh touched hands with Agviar in confirmation of the trade concession, "this being their only way of sealing a bond since they have no knowledge of writing." See *RSEA* II, p. 30. Thus we have no Sofala Chronicle corresponding to the most interesting Arabic document from Kilwa.
9. D. P. Abraham derives the word *changamir* from *changa* (Shona for "a worthless person") whose mother was a woman of lowly status, and *amir*, a title suggested by Moorish traders after the first changamir's successful campaigns: see 'The early political history of the kingdom of Mwene Mutapa (850-1589)' in *Historians in Tropical Africa*, 1962, Salisbury: University College of Rhodesia & Nyasaland, pp. 64 & 65. It is also possible that *changa* identifies the ruler's mother's community, the Mashanga of the Sofala coast.



Dourado, 1571.

Lopes, 1590.

abroad on behalf of the state. The *degrado* agent we know most about was Antonio Fernandes, founder member of the Sofala garrison, a ship's carpenter with a gift for languages and an uncanny rapport with strangers. Almada, provost of Sofala said of him, the African chiefs "worship him like a god Wherever he goes, wars are stopped out of respect for him."[10] A number of attempts have been made to interpret the confusing documents which record his journeys. Hugh Tracey's is the one usually accepted, but regarding the claim that Fernandes first penetrated the hinterland via the Sabi route I believe Tracey and those who follow him are quite wrong.[11] Much of the proof hinges on the position of Angoche, which Hugh Tracey believed lay *south* of Sofala, and which by overwhelming documentary evidence we know lay in the 16th century in its present position, *north* of the Zambezi. If the northern location of Angoche is born in mind, the journeys of Fernandes make sense as exploration in company with Muslim merchants of the gold lands with particular refeience to the rival route to Angoche which is mentioned as early as 1506 in Alcacova's letter.[12] The details of the journeys I do not intend to pursue today: those who are interested can begin with my article in *Rhodesiana* and work back from Tracey and Godlonton to the original documents. My concern is the light which Fernandes shed on the interior. From the time of his journeys, that is 1511-1515 to the period during which the chroniclers were compiling their accounts, in the 1550s and 60s, a corpus of intelligence was growing about the African communities of the Sofalan hinterland, mainly concentrating on the courts that were the goals of the trade missions, and thus largely political and economic information. Fernandes, for instance, notes such items as, "The first king who borders with Sofala is called Mycamdira and there is nothing to be had in his land save supplies and ivory."[13] "The king of Embya . . . has nothing save banditry . . ,[14] "Ynhacoue ... is the captain-major of the king of Monomotapa and ... in his lands they hold fairs on Mondays, called Sembaza fairs where the Moors sell all their merchandise . . . The only coin is gold by weight."[15] "The— king of Mazoe... has much gold in his land and he who mines it pays him half."[16] "[5 days'journey from Mazoe is] Embire, a fortress of the king of Monomotapa, now being made of unmortared stone ... He is the greatest of all these kings, who all obey him as far as Sofala."[17] Fernandes' missions provided the contacts

10. See *DPM* IV, p. 283.
11. See DICKINSON, R. W., 1971, "Antonio Fernandes — a reassessment', in *Rhodesiana* 25, pp. 45-52.
12. *See DPM I p.* 395.
13. *DPM* LLL p. 181.
14. ibid.
15. *DPM* III p. 183.
16. ibid.
17. ibid — The location of the Zimbabwe visited by Antonio Fernandes is almost impossible to identify with any certainty since it is known that the monomotapas changed the site of their royal villages from time to time. D. Abraham has claimed on ethnohistoric evidence that it lay next to Chitako-Changonya Hill on the west bank of the Utete, tributary of the Musengezi, on a hill named Samanyai. K. R. Robinson sees no objection on archaeological grounds to this identification, but no excavation has been attempted. V. H. V. Grilo, from brief surface examination has counterclaimed that the Zimbabwe lay near the source of the river M'bire in Mozambique.

as well as the information necessary before the Portuguese could establish themselves at the hub of trade on the lower Zambezi, Sena, which was probably founded in 1531 in the captaincy of Vicente Pegado. More colour appears in accounts of the Karanga chiefdoms from the time of Fernandes expeditions, due, no doubt to the extension of the catchment area for information which followed his missions and the Portuguese presence at Sena. Even by the 1560s, however, the total picture emerging from the pages of Barbosa (1518) and the chroniclers of the mid-century such as Barros, Castanheda and Gois could be summed up as follows.

The monomatapa lived at times in his Zimbabwe of thatched timber buildings, surrounded by a dry stone wall, but had another capital 6 days' journey away. (If the time needed for the journey was underestimated, this could refer to the ancestral home of the monomotapa, Great Zimbabwe, where some of his wives were said by Muslim traders to be kept under the guardianship of the *symbacaio*; if not exaggerated it must refer to an alternate centre in N. Mashonaland, perhaps the village of his 'captain-major' mentioned by Fernandes). Every year, as a test of allegiance, all fires in the kingdom were extinguished except the monomotapa's, and subordinate rulers were ordered to receive New Fire from his hearth. Anyone refusing risked annihilation at the hands of the *sono* or commander-in-chief and his army.[18]

At his capital, tribute arrived, borne by long caravans of porters who were never allowed to see the ruler. (The monomotapas were following a long tradition of seclusion, strongly hinted by the design of Great Zimbabwe with its well screened passages, a tradition reminiscent of Prester John who was said to reveal only his feet to visitors.)

Dress and weapons showed a blend of indigenous fashion and Muslim influence: to the animal skins with tails swirling excitingly in the dances were added the dyed cotton fabrics of Cambay. The monomotapa, however, for fear of harmful magic, continued to wear cloth woven in Africa itself. Assegais, bows and arrows of Africa were joined in the accoutrement of the courtiers, by large knives in gold-decorated sheaths, slung from coloured braids, suggesting the influence of Muslim traders.

Largely missing from such accounts is sociological information about the common people, their speech, way of life and religion. This ingredient is supplied, and brilliantly, by Santos, vicar of Sofala at the end of the 16th century. His account, *Ethiopia Oriental* (which incidentally means east Africa and not simply Abyssinia) has not only vital importance to the historian of the African Iron Age, but immediate appeal to the general reader. A modern English translation of Santos is long overdue. I have time for only a few examples of the wide-ranging observations of this fascinating writer.

Of Sofala itself, Santos shows us that the Muslim faith survived the century of Portuguese proselytization and focused on the shrine of a Muslim saint. To

18. The element *sono* appears in a number of modern Shona words, *sononedza* 'to pursue* for instance, which seems very relevant to the duties of a commander-in-chief!

his tomb, on the island of Inhasanto, came a constant stream of suppliants, those about to marry and those about to depart on voyages along the dangerous waters of the Sofala shoal, leaving tokens such as cloth or fragments of masts to invoke the saint's aid. The tradition was respected by the local Christians until vicar Santos in a fit of zeal set fire to the shrine and was delighted by the blaze which reminded him, he writes, of Muhammad burning in the flames of hell.[19]

The Dominican priest uses the same term for the people who occupied the gold-bearing uplands and the coastal plain as Alcacova did in 1506, the Karanga. Only on a coastal strip south of Sofala was a different language spoken, by the folk known as Tonga. He mentions the Karanga love of metaphor and notes the whistling sounds in their language, but goes much further than this, incorporating Karanga words into his narrative which enable us to identify the people he describes as the ancestors of the modern Shona-speakers of Rhodesia and Mozambique. We will glance at his accounts of the aristocracy and the commoners.

The monomotapa ruled from his royal village close to Mount Fura (Mount Darwin), and in his gold-producing areas the Portuguese had established three trade fairs supplied from Tete: Massapa, Luanze and Manzovo.[20] His badge of office was the ndoro shell,[21] he carried three 'fimbos' or rods of authority (Shona *svimbo),* each of his envoys was called a 'mutume' (Sh. *mutumwi)* and he referred to his northern river boundary as the 'Empando' or Divider (Sh. *mupanda).* His authority was often challenged by the Mongas, fierce warriors of the Zambezi valley, who fought in the 'head and horns of the ox' formation (later made famous by Shaka Zulu).

When the Portuguese arrived in the Indian Ocean, the monomotapa's kingdom was already in process of fission. Santos gives interesting descriptions of the eastern segment of the old hegemony, under the rule of Kiteve whose customs probably reflect closely those of the monomotapa. Every September this ruler took his chiefs into the mountains of Manica for ceremonies to ensure the welfare of the community. (The timing suggests rain-making rituals). He concealed his face behind a beadwork mask (the 'hidden king' again!) and the whole company 'pembered', that is, leapt around (Sh. *pembera)* until one became possessed by a 'modzimo' or ancestral spirit (Sh. *mudzimu).*

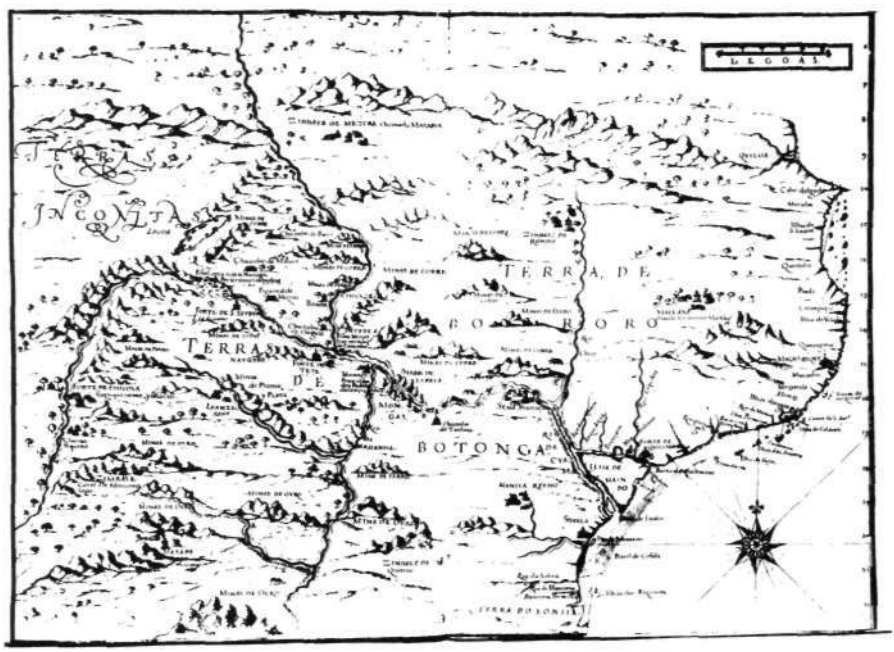
Santos is also the chronicler of the commoner in Karangaland. The hunter pursuing big game such as 'parapara' or sable (Sh. *mhapapara)* or being led to

19. See *RSEA* VII pp. 351-2. It is probable that the shrine and the tomb were transferred from Inhasanto Island, now a mere sand bar in Sofala Bay, to a Muslim cemetery which now stands on a low bluff where the tradition continues strongly today, although the names applied to the saint, Mwenye Mukuru, Abdurraman, Suf, suggest a fusion of the original saint and the sheikh of Sofala who was killed by Anaia in 1506.
20. See for a map of the 17th century Portuguese settlements P. S. Garlake, 1969, 'Excavations at the seventeenth century Portuguese site of Dambarare, Rhodesia.' *Proceedings & Transactions of the Rhod. Scient. Assoc,* 54 (1), 23-61, p. 25.
21. *Ndoro* is modern Shona for a chief's emblem, sign of fertility, cut from the conus shell.

wild honey by the 'sazu' or honey-guide (Sh. *shezu)* finds a place in his pages, as does the fisherman plying his 'almadiya' or log canoe (Sh. *mwadiya).* As in the lands of today's Shona-speakers, so in Santos' day, the nganga was a most important figure, throwing the 'chakata' or diving tablets (Sh. *hakata) to* reveal the causes of sickness or the perpetrators of crime. He comments on musical instruments such as the mbira and on hair styles, remarking that horned patterns were popular, but that the kiteve reserved to himself the right to sport four horns on his head.

In one particular story the sceptic might conclude that the priest was indulging his fancy. Turtles, according to Santos, used to be caught in Sofala Bay by a strange method. The African boatman tied a cord to the tail of a small fish and threw it overboard near a basking turtle. The fish attached itself to the shell by means of suckers on its head and the fisherman had simply to haul the cord in to land his catch. Fanciful? Not at all! The fish is the *remora echeneis* and the practice may still be observed in the Zanzibar seas, although it is long forgotten in Sofala Bay.

I hope I have said enough about Santos to inspire you to read him for yourself. The title of this lecture indicates that I should say something about the influence of the Portuguese in Rhodesia. We are so close to the dramatic events of 1975 that it is difficult to be as objective as one would wish, but I must try. Basil Davidson writes that from the European point of view, Gama opened both the sea route to India and the open-sea navigation of the south Atlantic,



Teixeira, 1630.

but "from the African point of view ... his coming was an unrelieved disaster."[22] Davidson is referring to the destruction of the Swahili trading cities on the eastern litoral of Africa. On many points the criticism is just: the behaviour of some of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean was rapacious and brutal. Evidence for this is overwhelming, from the broad effect of the supplanting of the Muslim trading stations and routes, and the depression of the Muslim traders themselves to the barbarous massacres of Kilwa and Brava where hands were hacked off to get at silver bracelets.

Inland also the coming of the Portuguese disrupted the existing pattern of trade and hastened the eclipse of the Zimbabwe culture. There is archaeological proof of this in the lack of trade and short life of the northern successors to Great Zimbabwe, compared with the southern successors like Khami. My excavations at Didcot, for instance, a tiny Zimbabwe near Beatrice, with walling in the peak style of Great Zimbabwe, showed identical pottery in top and bottom deposits, indicating a very short life compared with that of the parent centre which lasted for about 350 years. Despite careful sieving, not a single trade bead appeared, which speaks of the severing of trade links with the coast.

The collusion between the monomotapas and the Portuguese in the late 16th and the 17th centuries sharpened the rivalry with the changamires of the south to the point of war which in the late 17th century swept the Portuguese settlers off the Rhodesian plateau. In this, the Portuguese influence was at times to *intensify* internecine strife in Karangaland, but it would be untrue to conclude that the Portuguese arrival *caused* it, for the monomotapa-changamire conflict was 12 years old when Alcacova was writing in 1506.

Regarding the trading prospects of Swahili Sofala in 1505, it would be difficult to have forecast a shining future. Early 16th century Sofala did not present the splendid panorama of the Kilwa waterfront; Sofala was the rather squalid outpost of the northern trade-masters, and Sheikh Yusuf had recently made a unilateral declaration of independence from his Kilwa overlord which might have led to the development of the port and its hinterland, but might equally well have led to the extinction of Sofala as a pawn in the Karanga wars.

Christianity and commerce were the proclaimed motives for the Portuguese expansion at the turn of the fifteenth century. Commerce was clearly in the lead along the east coast of Africa until the Jesuit mission of Andre Fernandes and Goncalo Silveira commenced in 1560. Christian influence on the Rhodesian plateau was pioneered by Silveira at the court of the monomotapa, but rendered stillborn by the martyrdom of the Jesuit priest in 1561. In the seventeenth century, Christianity and commerce penetrated the hinterland in double harness: at Dambarare, for instance, near the present town of Mazoe, a Dominican priest officiated at the church on the trading settlement in 1631. In 1693, however, Dambarare was ravaged by Changamire Dombo who drove the Portu-

22. DAVIDSON, B., 1966. *The African Past.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, p. 128.

guese who were not killed in his attack right off the plateau. Neither priests nor traders were able thereafter to return in any significant numbers to their former settlements inland.

The long span of the Lusitanian overseas empire has been summarised with devastating accuracy by Margery Perham: "For some 400 of her 450 years of domination Portugal maintained a peripheral sleepy control over the coasts and rivers of her large annexations."[23] Striving for balance in our historical judgement we might confess that catalysts are usually a mixture of good and bad, reflecting the variety of motives which inspire men to spin out of one orbit into another. What may we set against the exploitation to be seen in the search for gold and silver and the later involvement in the slave trade in S.E. Africa? Apart from missionary activity, one very significant bequest: in the final analysis, the greatest contribution made by the Portuguese to the life of the indigenous peoples of Africa was a by-product of imperial trade links in the field of agriculture. Just as the Muslim era conferred on the east coast of Africa the inestimable gift of the coconut, the Portuguese era brought to the sub continent from Brazil, at some time in the sixteenth century, a crop which rapidly became the most important staple cereal in sub-Saharan Africa: maize.

Abbreviations

DPM: Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique, 7 vols., Salisbury, Rhodesia, and Lisbon.
PMC: Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographies, 6 vols., Lisbon.
RSEA: THEAL, G. M., *Records of S.E. Africa,* 9 vols., Cape Town.

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23. PERHAM, M., 1963, *The Colonial Reckoning.* London: Collins, Fontana Library, p. 116.

Hunters and Explorers — The 19th Century

by E. E. Burke

The 19th Century, and more particularly the first two-thirds of it, was crucial in the uncovering of the country between the Limpopo and the Zambezi.

At the beginning of the Century, as will appear, the furthest north from the Cape to be known was not much beyond the Orange River: but by the 1870's it was the Hunyani and beyond. It will be noted that reference here is to Boer and British travels into the interior from the south.

The Portuguese had, at various times from the 17th Century, penetrated southwards from the Zambezi to the central plateau but there was no corpus of *accessible* literature to mark their findings, and little of them were known beyond specialist circles in Lisbon, Mozambique and Goa. Moreover, by the beginning of the 19th Century their effort had declined, their trading and missionary enterprises, and their influences, were largely in ruins.

Thus, with the waning of Portuguese activity the geographical approach turned to the south where the impetus undoubtedly stemmed from the new British occupation of the Cape and the curiosity of its officials.

The southern approach to the interior has a respectable history, for as early as 1659 Van Riebeeck, misled by the available maps, concluded that the Monomotapa was not too far away and that there might be access to his gold trade. Van Riebeeck's *Journal* shows that, as early as 1659, he mounted the first of several expeditions to try to reach the Monomotapa. All were directed towards Namaqualand as it was tought that the Namaquas were in a trading relationship with the Monomotapa; in fact there was still a matter of 3 200 km (2 000 miles) to go. Thereafter none of those who described the Cape, from Fr. Tachard (1688) to Barrow (1797/8) gave attention to report, hearsay or legend of the Far Interior; — and this brings one to the opening of the 19th Century.

The first British occupation of the Cape lasted from 1795 to 1803 and its civil servants were endowed with scientific curiosity. In 1801 a Government expedition, under Dr. William Somerville, crossed the Orange River, and travelled another 300 km (180 miles) north to find the enormous BaRolong town of Lattakoo and the Kuruman river, where 25 years later Robert Moffat founded his mission station.

In 1803 the first British occupation came to an end when, in terms of the treaty of Amiens, the Cape was handed over to representatives of the Batavian Republic, of the Dutch East Indies.

But in January 1806 the British were back, to secure the door to India against the French (and this time to stay).

One of the first acts of the newly apointed Governor, the second Earl of Caledon, educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, aged 29, was to organize an ambitious journey of exploration to cross the sub-continent to the Portuguese in Mozambique. It was a large and well equipped body, lead by Dr. Cowan, the Assistant Surgeon to the 83rd Regiment, accompanied by Captain Donovan. The expedition, large as it was, never reached Mozambique or any other Portuguese settlement. Nor did it return — it vanished. It was last heard of in December 1808 or early 1809 in the neighbourhood of Kanye (in southern Botswana) but there is evidence that it reached the Limpopo where, at a place named Selika, a descendant of Captain Donovan, nearly 90 years later found relics of the expedition. This is about 160 km (100 miles) from the nearest point on the Rhodesian border, within the malaria and tsetse belt which was very possibly the cause of this little-known disaster.

At this point one must distinguish between the various motives that led to the penetration — rather than exploration — of the interior. Scientific curiosity was one, and as scientific endeavour demands publication in order to be recognised so we are aware of the achievements of individuals from their own writings.

Missionary zeal was another powerful motive and as missionaries were necessarily educated and literate they were able to describe their work, often for publication by their own sponsoring organisations, in order to attract funds for the development of that work.

Another motive was sport. The period from 1835 to 1860 was the heyday of the great sportsmen in Bechuanaland and the Transvaal and many of these may be described as educated gentlemen of leisure, able to observe, record and find a publisher. Indeed leisure had its own values; Cornwallis Harris was given no less than two years of sick leave from the army in Bombay to recover his health on the highveld. Then there was hunting primarily for profit; for the sale of tusks, horns and skins Elephant hunting was forbidden in the Cape in 1830 and so the commercial hunters, too, pressed northwards

Livingstone records that during the first year after his discovery of Lake Ngami, in 1849, no less than 900 elephant were shot in the vicinity of the lake alone. By 1872, when Selous arrived on the scene elephant were getting noticeably scarcer in Mashonaland. By 1890 an observer says "few troops of elephant were left in those vast regions, where, a score of years before, these animals still roamed the wilderness in large numbers". Thus there was another incentive to northwards penetration — following what might be called the game frontier, as it gradually regressed.

While the scientific explorer and the missionary and the sportsman were literate and are known by their works there were many commercial hunters — both Boer and British, who made annual visits to the interior, who travelled

widely, often with their families, but who left no records other than a mention by others who met them in passing. So in dealing with the explorers and the hunters it is necessary to bear in mind that with those who are well known names in Rhodesian history there is a shadowy company of the unknown or partly known.

One shadowy figure is that of David Hume, a Scotsman who came to the Cape in 1817. By 1825 he was trading extensively in the northern Cape and in 1830 he made a long journey far to the north.

It appears that Hume had heard rumours of the existence of gold to the north of the Limpopo and went to see for himself. His first step was to obtain permission from Mzilikazi, paramount chief of the Matabele, whose kraal was then in the Rustenberg area, between there and Pretoria (this was five years before Mzilikazi moved north into Matabeleland but he controlled the access route down the Limpopo; hence the necessity for permission). It is of interest though that the later traveller, Cornwallis Harris, in the first edition of his account of his South African journeys (*Narrative of an expedition into southern Africa.* Bombay, American mission press, 1838) has a map on which Hume's route is shown. It is very rough but seems to suggest that Hume may have crossed the Shashi into the Antelope Mine area to the south of the Matopos.

Meanwhile the Great Trek of the Boer farmers was in motion and in a long reconnaissance Andries Hendrik Potgieter, in May 1836, who was then on the Vet River in the centre of what was to become the Orange Free State, set out to explore the interior in search of suitable settlement areas. His small party of eleven horsemen crossed the Vaal and then the Witwatersrand and came eventually to the Zoutpansberg. They went on over the Limpopo, over the Nuanetsi and through the south-eastern corner of Rhodesia before turning south again; a round journey in new country of 2 400 km (1 500 miles). It is probable that another object was to examine the possibility of communication with the Portuguese harbours on the Mozambique coast, for ready access to the sea was necessary to maintain the new countries they intended to develop.

For the next eleven years exploration seems to have been in abeyance, while the hunters followed up the routes indicated by Hume's travels and the Boer trekkers — eleven years from 1836 to 1847. While Hume's furthest north in 1830 is vaguely identifiable as the Antelope Mine area, the point reached in 1847 is quite reliable.

This was Potgieter again. Potgieter had been largely responsible for securing the Transvaal for the Boer against Mzilikazi's Matabele in actions at Vegkop (October 1836), Mosega (January 1837) and in a nine-day running fight on the Marico River (November 1837), operations necessitated by initial Matabele attacks on the Trekkers. The Trekkers' authority was thus established, and in 1838 and 1839 the Matabele moved into new country round the Matopos where they could expect to be free from molestation.

Nine years later, years in which the Matabele lived free of any known visitors from the outside, Potgieter made a final foray against them. This was

motivated partly to rescue two Boer children thought, probably erroneously, to be in Matabele custody, and partly, no doubt, to examine the country. The commando, over 100 strong, started in 1847, from Ohrigstad (abandoned, because of malaria, when the inhabitants moved to Lydenburg).

It defeated an impi on the southern slopes of the Matopos, then slipped through what is still known as Hendrik's Pass on to the highveld and to the headwaters of the Gwaai (near modern Cyrene Mission) before withdrawing, harassed by the powerful Zwangendaba regiment or impi.

Thus it is that it is Hume in 1830 (with a question mark) and Potgieter in 1836, and again in 1847, who have the priority of European penetration of Rhodesian territory from the south.

One must turn now to the activities of the missionaries. The intensive-desire to convert and improve the masses in England which was a feature of the Dissenting churches eventually spilled over into the foreign field. The Methodists were the first abroad and in 1795 the London Missionary Society was founded to carry the Gospel in Protestant style to India and China and, later, South Africa.

One of the most outstanding of the London Society's missionaries was Robert Moffat, who in 1825 established a new station at Kuruman on the Cape frontier. There he made a name for himself by his religious work and by translating the whole of the Bible into Tswana and printing it on his mission press. In 1829 and again in 1835 Moffat visited Mzilikazi, who, as has been noted, was then in the Transvaal, and became the recipient of a great friendship from the chief. In 1839 Mzilikazi moved north and Moffat lost all touch with him and this lasted for the next fifteen years.

Meanwhile, to Livingstone, the greatest of missionary pioneers in Central Africa. He believed that commerce would be the key to the spread of Christianity and that exploration was the key to commerce, and had pressed on from his discovery of Lake Ngami in 1849 to his determination of the upper courses of the Zambesi. Then came his journey westwards to the Atlantic at Luanda; he turned back inland, discovered the Victoria Falls in 1855 and a year later arrived at Quelimane on the Indian Ocean, from where he went to England, the first Briton to cross Africa at this latitude, and a celebrity.

Meanwhile Sam Edwards, a 27 year old veteran trader and hunter, was planning a journey to Mzilikazi's new country — to Matabeleland, and Moffat, who knew Edwards well, arranged to accompany him, partly to see his old friend again (with the idea of a further attempt at evangelization) and partly to get messages and supplies up to Livingstone, somewhere on the Zambezi. No one, as far as appears, had made any earlier attempt at the route from Kuruman to Mzilikazi, who was then at his kraal at Inyati; and thus was created what came to be known as the Missionaries' Road, about 1 100 km (660 miles), long, ultimately the main road to the north and subsequently the line of the railway, gaining political significance as being outside the Transvaaal boundaries and

leading eventually to the creation of the Bechuanaland Protectorate to preserve. for British and Cape interests, the access to the interior.

Next it is logical to turn to Thomas Baines — artist, traveller, prospector and geographer.

Our interest in Baines begins with his venture, a most unfortunate one for him, as artist-storekeeper to an expedition sponsored by the British Government to explore the Zambezi and Shire rivers. This expedition, 1858-63, was lead by Livingstone and he and Baines parted in 1859 on bad terms, and unproved charges. Baines was in bad health, from malaria, and when he regained his strength he attempted to reach Livingstone, still on the Zambezi, to confront him. So Baines joined Chapman in 1860 in a journey from Walvis Bay to the Zambezi to open it to trade; indeed Baines had two copper boats built for the purpose. They reached the Falls two years later and established a camp below the gorges with the idea of eventually floating down to Tete but fever, shortage of supplies and lungsickness amongst the oxen made a retreat necessary — one of the great journeys of African travel, memorable for Baines's paintings of the Victoria Falls and scenes in South West Africa.

So by 1862 the hunters were plying their trade in Matabeleland and northwards, following the Missionaries' Road to Mzilikazi's kraal to pay their respects to the paramount chief, and to obtain his permission. There were also certain recognised dues to be paid to him.

At about the same time another hunting route to the north was coming into general use. the road from Shoshong to Deka which then bifurcated either to the Falls, for those who were tourist minded, or to the Zambezi and Chobe, to Linyanti, the Makololo town where Sekeletu ruled.

If then one visualises a half moon with the centre of the arc at Inyati, pointing north eastwards this is the area, very roughly, that was explored by the beginning of the 1860's. So, of the Eastern Highlands, the northern escarpments and the whole of Mashonaland there was nothing known — except to the Portuguese. But there were no Portuguese expeditions or travellers of the calibre of those with which we have been dealing; only a few traders, hunters and indeed some slave raiders, mostly of mixed blood.

Mashonaland, by Mzilikazi's reckoning, began at the Umniati and for many years he would allow no hunting beyond this. Some historians say that Hartley was the first to be allowed to cross this boundary, through Mzilikazi's regard for him. But Selous has a story (in a letter of 1902 to Lacey, a historian of African exploration) that one Marthinus Swart was allowed across as early as 1862, when he was a member of the first party of Boers to be permitted to hunt to the east, on which occasion they killed 165 elephant, but nevertheless the party had to leave their wagons at the river and hunt beyond it on horseback. Swart was one of the shadowy ones; he died of fever, along with ten of his family, in 1877 on the Saltpan road from Shoshong.

Thus Hartley is the better known as the first to penetrate into Mashonaland beyond the Umniati and, in 1865, to extend the Hunters' Road from Inyati to the Umfuli (at Hartley Hills) and then to the Hunyani. This road must be thought of as the main stem from which, over the years, travellers branched away in various directions, to Sinoia's and Lomagundi's, to the Gwebi Flats and the Mazoe, east to Wedza and so on.

However, another diversion is necessary in order to keep the continuity clear. The spread of the game hunter has been indicated — next comes gold. Zimbabwe has not yet entered to story. Zimbabwe and gold go together, so do Henry Hartley and Carl Gottlieb Mauch.

Mauch came from Stettin, a village near Stuttgart, where he was born in 1837 and in a lifetime of a little short of 30 years he spent nearly eight, from 1865 to 1872, in continuous travel in southern Africa. He trained deliberately as an explorer — geology, languages, natural history and astronomy — and even by the time he was 15 for some reason the blank spaces behind the coastline of the map of Africa became a challenge and were eventually to draw him there.

Although he publicised the goldfields at Tati and on the Umfuli, and the location of Zimbabwe ruins, he long remained a rather mysterious figure, through a lack of any definitive description of his own achievements and the general inaccessibility of the little that he wrote. This mystery was largely lifted with the translation and publication of his *Journals*, covering 1869-72, which was organised by the National Archives in 1969. Tribute must be paid to the late Mrs. Bernhard who translated the original script into modern German and to her husband who then put it into English. Theirs was a major contribution to the history of the exploration of Rhodesia, one of the most significant for some time.

Henry Hartley (1816-1876) was an 1820 Settler who came from Nottinghamshire. About 1841 he moved to the Transvaal to a farm called Thorndale, south of the Magaliesburg and 75 km (47 miles) from Pretoria. From here he hunted and traded into Bechuanaland and the northern Transvaal and up the Zambezi road. In 1865 when Mzilikazi opened Mashonaland to the hunters and something like an ivory rush developed Hartley took in a party as far as the Umfuli — to Hartley Hills — where he noticed, as elsewhere, what he surmised to be ancient gold workings, a theory confirmed by the Shona.

Hartley inevitably met Mauch, and he allowed him to go along on the second hunting trip that the hunters made into these new territories on a journey that lasted from May 1866 to January 1867. Then in 1867 they commenced a further visit to the Umfuli and it was in the course of this second journey together that Mauch, on the indications given by Hartley, verified the existence of gold at Hartley Hills and elsewhere in the country, including Tati.

The discoveries were announced by Mauch in the press immediately on his return; Mauch's assertions created widespread inierest and a veritable gold rush from Australia. America and England to Tati. But all was not as it was

made out to be. Of the genuineness of Mauch's enthusiasm there can be no doubt but of the basis for it there was soon very great doubt. There is a racy account of the Tati gold fever by Lindley who caught it in England on reading the Natal newspapers in his club. But when he got to Tati, he says:

> "Only a few specks [i.e. of gold] were to be seen. And this was the result of some months work at the German, Mauch's, hammer-arresting and motion-transfixing discovery, which he subsequently had the amazing ignorance or mendacity to declare richer than the gold-fields either of Australia or California!" (from A. Lindley *After Ophir, or, a search for the South African gold fields.* London, 1870).

But the other goldfield, on the Umfuli, was confirmed, although in less glowing terms than those of Mauch, by an expedition set up by Thomas Baines on behalf of a London company. Baines gained a mining concession from Lobengula and engaged his own geologist, on whose reports the company continued to operate — and to hope — but the distance was too far, cash too short, and the scheme eventually foundered, at Hartley Hills.

Baines had a later word on all this. His diary for 17th June 1871 relates — "This morning I received a letter from Herr Carl Mauch complaining that Mr. Hartley wished to take credit for discoveries which belong to Mr. Mauch alone and that statements disparaging to him (Mauch) were made in various newspapers ... To this I answer. We have all heard of the gold north of the Limpopo as far back as 1850 to my knowledge . . . Mr. Hartley saw the diggings and of course connected them with the legends. He never pretended to be a scientific explorer; *that* is the honourable share due to Herr Mauch . . . We know there is gold where he said it was, and he may well set the honour accorded him by the Geographical and other Societies above the blackguard abuse of a set of mercenary adventurers who wanted to grow rich all at once out of the information he has given to the world".

Mauch made other journeys but the next most significant was his search for Zimbabwe. The gold in the interior had become linked in his mind with accounts of ruins which he already and prejudicially had identified with the Ophir of the ancients. In this he had come under the influence of the Reverend A. Merensky, of the Berlin Mission, who had served in the Transvaal for many years. Merensky was of the conviction that "in the country northeast and east of Moselikatse the ancient Ophir of Solomon is to be found, and that in the times of the Ptolymies Egyptian trade penetrated to our coasts" (Letter of 12th October 1868 to the *Transvaal Argus).* In 1862 he, with another missionary tried to reach the ruins, of which he had heard from Sekukuni, chief of the Bapedi in the northern Transvaal, but his expedition was defeated by an outbreak of smallpox.

Mauch tried once in 1869 but was arrested and turned back by the Matabele. In 1871 he tried again and this time was successful, with the help of one Adam Renders who had been in the area for three or four years. Mauch was robbed of all his goods and Renders took him to his quarters in Pika's kraal and kept him there for nearly nine months while Mauch sent to the Transvaal

to replace his stolen trade goods. In these nine months Mauch was able to examine the Ruins thoroughly and sketch them; but his impressions of their history and what he found there are another story.

He eventually left Pika's in 1872 and headed for Senna as fast as he could, apprehensive of another meeting with the Matabele. Malaria intervened and at one stage, it seems, he thought that death was near, but he struggled on keeping to a trodden and used route which led from Zimbabwe, by one kraal to the next, and eventually past the Makaha gold fields (the last of Mauch's such discoveries in Africa) out of modern Rhodesia and into Portuguese territory by way of Makombe's town; and eventually to Quelimane and home to Germany. Renders went with him to the coast but here they parted and Renders returned on a lonely journey back to Zimbabwe. He is buried somewhere near Pika's kraal — the site of his huts has been located.

It is a point worth making that many Europeans must have died in Matabeleland or Mashonaland between the first Portuguese exploration of the 16th century and 1870; but no marked graves are known.

We are now at the beginning of the 1870's. 1870 itself was a disastrous year for the seasonal ivory hunters in Mashonaland. Of 19 Europeans known to have entered Mashonaland in March and April of that year seven died. Wet weather persisted until May and malaria was rife, and particularly virulent on the Hunters' Road. That year a group of six, led by George Wood, were on the road early in March for there was a natural competition between the regular hunters to be early on the scene; by the end of the month only two remained alive.

Thomas Leask tells of the next events (Wallis, *ed. Southern African diaries of Thomas Leask,* 1954). Early in May, leading a party of four, he came to the Umfuli where they found six more hunters, of whom three were sick. Amongst those who died of fever was Henry Hartley's youngest son but one, William, aged 17. Leask tried to help him by moving him to higher ground twenty or more miles away to the south-east but he died en route. His burial place was blazed on a tree and there is a photograph of it but it has never been located, neither has that of O'Donnell who died the same evening. The evidence of the diaries and Baines's maps indicate that Hartley is buried in the Mondoro tribal trust land not far from Mashayamombe school on the bank of a small stream; O'Donnell is about three miles further on towards Beatrice.

1870 also saw the development of the Westbeech or Pandamatenga Road, from Tati to the Zambezi, which replaced the older "Saltpan Road" which ran from Shoshong and was hard, rough and dangerous.

1870 saw the formal investiture of Lobengula as paramount of the Matabele: his father Mzilikazi had died in 1869.

1869 to 1872 were the years of Baines's three journeys to Matabeleland and Mashonaland on behalf of the London and Limpopo Mining Company to

exploit the first of the mining concessions won from the Matabele paramount which were to make Rhodesian history. Baines died in 1875 before he could organise a fourth expedition to get the Hartley Hills goldfield into production; thereafter it was abandoned, but his work lives on.

It would be fair to claim Baines as one of Southern Africa's greatest artists. He was an accurate cartographer and recorder. His route records were published after his death as *The Gold Regions of south-eastern Africa,* a monument to his careful industry. It includes (in a pocket from which in most surviving copies it is now missing) an important large folding map of Africa as far as the Zambezi, compiled from his own observations and those of such responsible explorers as had preceded him in the previous 20 years. This was the first trustworthy map of the interior — one from which romance had been vigorously excluded — and the basis of all the maps of Rhodesian territory for the next 25 years.

The same year that Mauch left Zimbabwe, 1872, the last year of Baines's travels in Mashonaland, saw Selous' arrival in Matabeleland. By this time the ivory hunter's occupation was already decaying, partly owing to the enormous destruction of game, and also partly due to restrictions placed by the British Government on the export of firearms into the interior. Selous, a Rugby scholar, son of a chairman of the London Stock Exchange, came to be regarded as the very model of the adventurous Englishman and may possibly, or even very likely, have served as the prototype for Allan Quatermain, the hero of Rider Haggard's novel *King Solomon's Mines.* But Selous came late and in 1877 wrote home that the trade had largely collapsed and that elephant hunting was at an end. Selous had to turn to providing specimens and trophies for museums and guiding tourists and sportsmen — the original "white hunter".

Selous was 21 that year, 1872, and in the course of the next 18 years he criss-crossed Mashonaland and Matabeleland with excursions across the Zambezi in a remarkable net-work of routes. For details one must go to his books the first of which was *A Hunter's wanderings in Africa* (1881; fifth edition 1907; reprinted 1911; facsimile reprints by Arno Press, New York, 1967, and Books of Rhodesia, 1970). *A Hunter's wanderings,* Selous notes, was intended to supply the need for a guide for men about to visit Central Africa in search of sport.

This was becoming the age of the collector and his book has seven plates depicting the heads of 45 different species of antelope representing every one to be met with north of the Limpopo up to 12°S latitude which is roughly the latitude of the Copperbelt in Zambia. There is, too, a list of game shot over a four-year period and it is indicative of the changing animal population that the list included only 20 elephant while there were 100 buffalo and 300 antelopes "collected" for food or as trophies.

Selous is well known as the guide to the Pioneer Column, from Tuli to Fort Victoria, a stretch of 180 miles over an unknown route, though part of it had

been traversed by the French missionary, Coillard, in 1877. Once on the high-veld Selous knew exactly where he was going as he knew the country from there as far as the Mazoe Valley, the Pioneer Column was on well trodden ground and, in fact, followed in part the tracks made by Selous, wagons a couple of years earlier.

So, perhaps surprisingly, with the passing of the 1870's into the 1880's we are close to the modern era, 100 years ago and still ten years before the advent of the Pioneer Column.

There is one, or perhaps two, other notable journeys in that ten years, which should be included in this summary. There were many other travellers, of course, and as the 1880s came to the 1890s there were men of another kind — civil servants — on the Missionaries' Road, as the political future of Central Africa became a new kind of frontier.

The last two travellers to be mentioned are both missionaries or groups of missionaries. The first are the Jesuit Fathers. Grahamstown, where a Jesuit College was established in 1876, became the base for a great planned missionary enterprise in Central Africa, nothing less than the re-establishment of the Zambezi Mission originally attempted by the Portuguese Jesuits in the 16th century — Fr. Gonzalo Silveira, murdered by a Monomotapa at his kraal in northern Mashonaland in 1561 was a Jesuit.

Fifteen priests and lay brothers reached Matabeleland in 1879. They were allowed to go in various directions — one party went to Pandamatenga near the Falls with the idea of penetrating Barotseland; another stayed near Lobengula's kraal; and a third went eastwards to Gazaland. This was lead by Fr. Law, an ex-lieutenant of the Royal Navy. They followed the Hunters' Road to the Umniati and then went south-eastwards to the Sabi; and down this to the kraal of Umzila, paramount of the Shangaans.

Law died of fever at Umzila's kraal and one other was nearly dead. The expedition was not well planned and moreover they had no one with them who was conversant with bush travel; and the remaining two decided that there was nothing for it but to walk to Sofala and obtain the relief that would enable them to get back to Matabeleland. Fathers De Sadeleer and Wehl marched due east and reached Sofala on 9th May 1881 where Wehl died three days later. De Sadeleer returned to the Shangaans, picked up the remaining member of the mission, Fr. Hedley, and eventually reached Bulawayo in October that year. That is the bare outline of a remarkable journey, the first from Bulawayo to the sea at Sofala and back again, and one that must rank high amongst the firsts.

The other journey was also a missionary enterprise, that of Bishop Knight-Bruce of the Anglican Church. He was Bishop of Bloemfontein, a vast diocese that comprehended the Orange Free State, Basutoland and Bechuanaland, and in April 1888 he set out to explore the north on his own. He had to leave his wagons, horses and oxen on the Hunyani (not far from present Salisbury) and walked to the Zambezi — he broke his shoulder in a riding accident at the start,

he suffered considerably from malaria, dysentery and pneumonia and he barely escaped a party of marauding Matabele, but he managed to reach the Zambezi on foot, at Zumbo; then down river and back by a different route to Sipolilo's and thence to his transport. He travelled elsewhere but it was his foot journey, some 650 km (400 miles), which is to be remarked upon. These journeys formed the basis of the subsequent pioneer efforts and spread of the Anglican Church in Rhodesia, reinforced with the appointment of Knight-Bruce as the first Bishop of Mashonaland in 1891.

So fall the bare bones of the story, from the beginning of the 19th century to the episodic years of the 1870's and to the fulfilment in the 1880's. There is obviously much that has of necessity been omitted, many names have not received proper justice. "As I speak I am conscious that I have treated poorly and without proper recognition the many women who travelled with their husbands and families — I pay them a special tribute now".

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This issue of the Journal of the University of Rhodesia contains the texts of two inaugural lectures. Elizabeth Hendricks of the Department of Education lectured on "Conflicts and Compromises in Education". The text of the lecture by Professor L. M. Muggleton of the Department of Electronic and Power Engineering, on "Designer's Delight and Dilemma" makes pleasant reading and is decorated with some light-hearted drawings. He traces the history of engineering from the earliest times, pointing out that all the disciplines of civil electrical and mechanical engineering are linked in that each is concerned primarily with "design". Noah, he points out, in an aside, was the first naval engineer.

R. W. H. Holland, of the Department of English, discusses "Fact and Fiction in Alan Paton's novel *Cry, the Beloved Country".* Valerie Moller, of the University of Natal writes on "Migrant Labour in Harare Hostels, Salisbury".

There are Research Reports, including one on farm houses and gardens in the Mazoe valley, Reviews and two Essay Reviews, one a long and interesting discourse on "The Treatment of the Rhodesian War in Recent Rhodesian Novels" by A. J. Cennells.

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The Administrators

by J. G. Storry

I

I do not think it could be gainsaid that a mere eighty-eight years ago the land that was to receive in full the attentions of the British South Africa Company (i.e. Rhodesia as we know it today) was a wilderness. There were no roads or railways, there were none of the accepted systems of communication, and the region was largely and certainly relatively uncultivated and uninhabited. Wild animals roamed at will and if their whim conflicted with that of the inhabitants then it was the animals which might well come off best — it was a brave or a foolhardy man who built his huts across the seasonal migration paths of a herd of elephants.

Such inhabitants as there were — a mere half million or so — were barbarous. There were none of the essentials of civilization; the written word was unknown, a knowledge of mechanics, the use of tools and the usual artifacts associated in other parts of the world with a civilization and an advanced form of human society was minimal. When darkness fell there was nothing to do but go to bed, for there was no means of creating light other than that obtained from a blazing fire. In the main, the inhabitants, while they had progressed significantly from the hunter/gatherer stage of evolution, were pastoral peasants. Some, it is true, were more aggressive or predatory than others, but all were mainly concerned to keep their herds intact and eke out a living in the best manner they knew how. And even their agricultural policy (if it can be properly dignified by such a term) had a forlorn aspect to it: when a piece of land became worked out it was necessary to find another piece that wasn't, for the inhabitants lacked the expertise to ensure continuing soil fertility. In a land where the ownership of animals is wealth and there is no form of coinage, then trade is by barter and such trade as existed was confined to those fortunate enough to have acquired the skills of miner or smith.

This, then, was the state of Rhodesia in the middle of 1890 when a few hundred men, aliens in an alien land if ever anybody was, began to push northwards in an endeavour to put into effect the absurd ambitions of the Company's Charter.

They certainly had overwhelming advantages in comparison to the indigenous inhabitants; they did have a written language, light, the means of transport, and the knowledge to make roads, a swifter means of communication than word of mouth. But if it was not for the fact that they also had an enormous conceit there was no way in which they could have seriously contemplated, let alone have embarked upon the process of implementing what can be best described as the fanciful notions embodied in the Charter.

For in this wilderness, the Company, through its agents and employees proposed to create a civilised state — not, as one usually supposes might happen, to allow the growth of civilisation by an evolutionary process, but actually to implant it — to impose it from foundation level. The Charter prescribes how this would be done.

Firstly, it should have an identity. The Company responsible for carrying out the terms of the Charter would always be and remain British in character and domicile, and have its principal office in Great Britain, and the directors would be British subjects. This would be emphasised by the use of a distinctive flag indicating the British character of the Company. Here, in this wise, was the very basis upon which this embryo state was to be built and, if I may say so, it adequately portrays the conceit of the people involved, for in the late nineteenth century there was abroad a fierce loyalty to all things British and an unbending patriotism to Great Britain by its sons.

Building upon this, the Company was to do a number of fundamental things that were likely to bring the state into being as an entity; settlement and trade were to be encouraged, monopolies discouraged, law was to be established and peace and order kept, loans could be made and personal property acquired. And there were the minor trappings of civilisation; slavery was to be abolished, freedom of religion respected, game preserved, associations formed, telegraphs erected, land cultivated — there were many more.

Looked at objectively, and given the state of the region at the time, the whole idea was utterly ridiculous. To start with, the logistics problem (and it was a quasi-military expedition) was enormous. The territory was more than a thousand miles from Cape Town, the only available port, and one travelled to and from it in a lumbering ox waggon or by horse, and when one arrived there was nothing there — a few huts, a fort and a flagpole, and that was Salisbury at the beginning of the last quarter of 1890. Nevertheless, the objects listed in the Charter were attained and this begs the question — how?

In essence, so it seems to me, it was done or, at any rate, assisted to an enormous degree, by the complete centralisation of control and by placing effective authority in the hands of one man, who was subject only, in the initial stages, to the directions of the Company whose enterprise this was. At first, the very nature of the authority granted to this administrative representative of the Company was as ludicrous as the rest of the venture. He was handed a 'Memorandum of Instruction' containing seventeen paragraphs, only six of which purported to tell him how to govern the country. I say purported, as arguably the only clear instruction was one to "carry on the administration without employing the members of the expedition" because it would be too costly! Other than that he was supplied with copies of a draft mining law, and unspecified laws and regulations prepared by Sir Sydney Shippard, who had never been farther north than Bulawayo. If these instructions did not cover a particular situation then he was to be guided — guided, mark you — by the laws and

procedure of Bechuanaland. The rest was to be left to his commonsense and integrity — at a salary of £1 500 a year.

It was too much for Colquhoun of course. He was used to a modicum of civilisation and although he would probably have made a perfectly capable Administrator at a later stage in the country's development, he had never tried to govern a territory in this state. How, after all, does one control a high spirited mob of adventurers spread far and wide over a land the boundaries of which are not even known, let alone closely defined.

So Colquhoun threw up his hands in horror and departed, and his place was taken by Jameson, the greatest adventurer of them all. He behaved like one and governed accordingly, outdoing the constant high spiritedness of his fellows to the extent where, paradoxically, a glimmer of light showed and it looked as though this risky venture might succeed after all. Just the same, it soon became clear that if a country was to be created out of the wilderness then it was time the administration of it was put on a surer footing than Rhodes' Memorandum of Instruction to Colquhoun. So the next stage was bringing in the Matabeleland Order in Council of 1894, and this document, while retaining centralised control and trusting to the integrity of one man, into whose hands great power and trust was placed, nevertheless, set the scene for the establishment of civilisation between the Zambezi and the Limpopo.

The Administrator was the instrument through which, in its formative years, Rhodesia was to develop. He was appointed by the Company subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, and he was responsible for the administration of the entire territory. He was empowered to exercise his powers in terms of the Charter and the Order in Council, and held office for a term of three years, which was renewable. Initially, he was assisted by a Council consisting of a Judge of the newly established High Court of Matabeleland and three other members appointed by the Company with the approval of the Secretary of State. The Administrator was not bound by the decisions of the Council but if he acted contrary to their advice he was required to report his actions to the Company. With the approval of the High Commissioner in Cape Town, he could make regulations but was barred from making ordinances, and the Company itself was similarly prevented from making any law imposing restrictions or disabilities on the indigenous population which did not apply equally to persons of European descent, except in regard to the supply of firearms (this was just after the Matabele War) and where the Secretary of State, on the recommendation of the High Commissioner, thought fit to grant permission to do so — an early measure restricting discrimination between the races.

The Southern Rhodesia Order in Council 1898, made further changes affecting the position of the Administrator. He remained the senior Company official in the country, he was still responsible for its civil administration, and his terms of office were the same, but the governance of the country was altered to give effect to changing circumstances and a growing settler population. Moreover, there could now be more than one administrator, and for a while

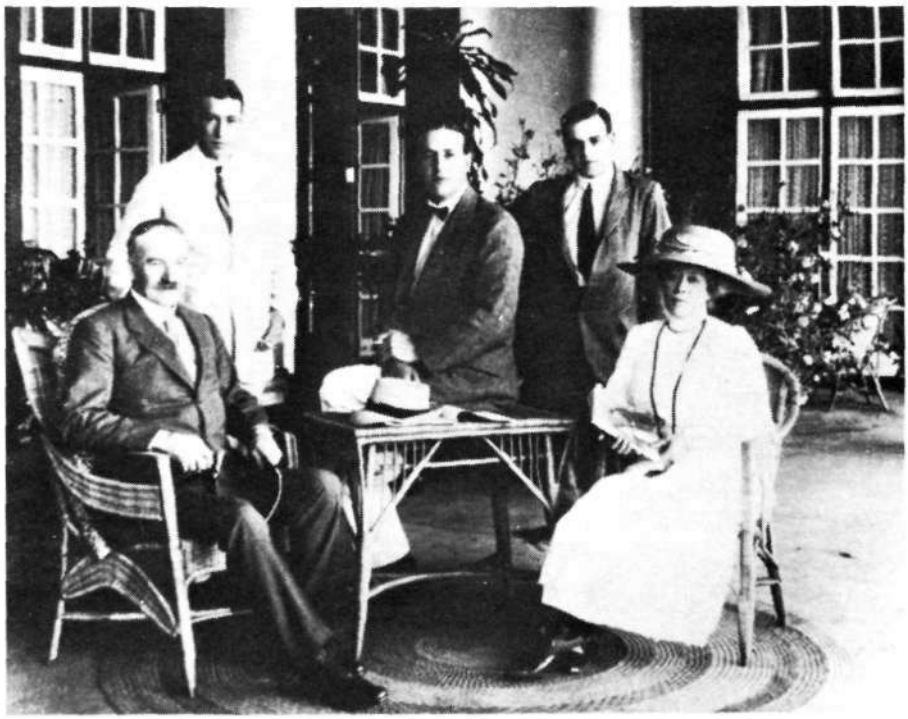
this was the position. One important change was the appointment of a Resident Commissioner who was required to scrutinise and report to the High Commissioner on every law passed. In effect, he was the Secretary of State's watchdog over the Company's administration of the territory. He was also a member of the new Executive and Legislative Councils, where he could speak but not vote.

The Executive Council consisted of at least four persons appointed by the Company with the approval of the Secretary of State, and the Administrator was directed to act on their advice in all matters of importance, except where a matter was too urgent to wait for the advice to be obtained. If that did happen, then he was obliged to summon a meeting of the Council and let them know what he had done. If, perchance, he acted contrary to their advice then, once again, he had to submit a report to the Company — although he did not have to g've reasons for his actions unless a member of the Council asked him to do so. The Company retained the power to veto the Administrator's decisions.

The Legislative Council was composed of the Administrator and nine members, of whom five were nominated by the Company and four elected by registered voters. The Administrator, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council could make laws for the peace, order and good government of the country. It was to the Legislative Council that the Administrator submitted his budget speech each year, and this Council which legislated thereon.

It was the Order in Council of 1898 which provided the very beginnings of the parliamentary system as we know it in Rhodesia today. I must emphasise, however, that the constitutional position of the Administrator was not that of the later Colonial Governors, nor yet that of the President or Prime Minister. His position was more closely analagous to that of an executive president — something not yet tried in this country. The reins of government and the day to day running of the country were closely concentrated in his hands and, of course, in his 'parliament' for a good many of the formative years of the country's development, he had a built-in majority. The only real curb to his authority if he behaved irrationally was the residual power vested in the Secretary of State, exercised by the High Commissioner, as expressed by the Resident Commissioner — a fairly nebulous form of constitutional check in practical terms, given the state of communications at the time.

So much for an outline of the Administrator's position up to the turn of the century. I should now like to go back to 1896, for despite the all embracing title of this talk my main concern is really with two Administrators, namely. Sir William Milton and Sir Drummond Chaplin. I wish to concentrate on these two for a variety of reasons, not least because between them, I think, they were responsible for the manner in which Rhodesia developed and for ensuring that it was so well governed that it was able to evolve as a state in its own right, standing on its own two feet to such a degree and with such vigour and confidence that by the early 1920s there was a very real choice between becoming a country with Responsible Government or becoming a province of the Union of South Africa. In my view, considering its mere thirty years of existence by 1923



The Miltons at home. Sir William and Lady Milton at Government House, with sons Noel, Jack and Neville.

(Photo: National Archives)

this is a quite remarkable achievement and reflects to a great extent the calibre of these two men. It was not achieved without mistakes, frustrations and actions being taken that now, in retrospect, appear sometimes in a pretty poor light, but all in all I am inclined to the view that they pale into comparative insignificance beside the achievement itself. In consequence, I am convinced that Rhodesia was particularly fortunate in having two men of such dedication in charge.

II

It was certainly not all easy for them. When Milton arrived he hated it. He had travelled to Bulawayo by coach, having had to walk quite a lot of the way because the mules were knocked up, and one of the things he did first on arrival was to lodge a string of complaints with Earl Grey in Bulawayo. He was impressed neither by the country nor the work and could not wait to get back to Cape Town. He wrote to his wife that it would be ten years before the country was fit to live in. On the other hand, when leaving Southampton, in 1914, to return to Rhodesia towards the end of his administratorship, he commented to the Press: *Some of us, you know, think that Rhodesia is the only country worth living in.*

As by that time he had played a very significant part in making it a country worth living in, perhaps his earlier assessment had some truth in it. For, in 1896 things were not going at all well; the Rebellions and rinderpest had practically brought the country to a standstill and the Jameson Raid had been a disastrous blunder.

Milton arrived to take up the post of Chief Secretary and Secretary for Native Affairs in August, 1896. From 1878 until that date he had held various posts in the Cape Civil Service, and his abilities had attracted the attention of Rhodes, who offered him the job in July. At the time he arrived, Rhodes was spending most of his time in the Matopos parleying with the Matabele indunas, and Milton had plenty of time to give vent to the unpleasantness he experienced. Several times he wrote to his wife saying he wanted to go home. Matabeleland he considered a dustbowl, it was unbearably hot, there were flies and white ants. Beer cost 10/- a bottle, bread 5/- a loaf, a small tin of potted tongue was 8/- and honey 6/- a half pound. The Rebellion had spawned a set of military men who thought they owned the place — and were trying to make sure they did — and civilians were very much second class citizens. He couldn't bear Jameson who, he felt, was giving large chunks of the best land away so that he could hobnob with the upper classes. All in all, Bulawayo, he wrote:
. . . is an abominable place, and I do not think I could live here . .. I begin to find that we were very comfortable in Wynberg and it will require a good deal of inducement to keep me away from it for more than six months.

He was adamant that either the military element was cleared out or he would. Two months later he was becoming reconciled to his position but it was not until he was on his way to Salisbury that he really cheered up. The country-side north of Gwelo was *indeed lovely country* and although he kept asking Judge Vintcent where on earth Salisbury was (to which he was told that it was on the other side of the kopje), when he did see it — *The town at once took my fancy. It is a much more homelike and likeable place than Bulawayo and looks very pretty. It is built on two sides of a stream, the business side being on the slope of a kopje and the Government buildings on a plateau on the other side. There is a constant war between the two but the plateau now seems to be winning.*

By this time also, Rhodes had tentatively offered him the job of Administrator, although he was sticking out for not less than £4 000 a year — a sum he probably felt he needed in a place where eggs were £2 a dozen.

So much for first impressions, and as might be expected he took it in his stride. A few years later the country in which it was *not fit for a lady to travel* had become home. His correspondence just prior to and after his appointment as Administrator in 1901 is full of domestic chitchat, on which his work hardly impinges. He wrote in August 1901 of his tour through part of Lomagundi and his interest in the development at Ayrshire, but was equally delighted with the thirty three oranges on one tree in his first crop. Milton was a keen gardener. He imported seeds and plants from America, kept poultry, established a vegetable garden, and built a greenhouse. He also laid out a bowling green and

played tennis. He was in fact quite a noted sportsman, being largely responsible for obtaining a lease of the famed Newlands cricket ground in 1886, and was captain of the Western Province Cricket Club from that time until he left for Rhodesia ten years later. But his private life was as important to him as his public life. He could comment on the feeling of Parliament in one sentence and express his pride in growing his first paw-paw in the next.

Ill health forced Milton to retire in 1914, just after arrangements had been made for his term of office to be extended for another eight years. However, by that time he had stayed in the country a great deal longer than the ten years he had predicted it would take to make it fit to live in. When he retired tributes poured in from all quarters; the Civil Service could not imagine life without him, he received a presentation from Salisbury and a civic luncheon at the Drill Hall. At a dinner of the Royal Society of St. George he was described as "a man with all his faults and foibles but a man all the same who commanded respect and admiration". From that statement and the obvious respect and esteem in which the records disclose he was held it seems clear that in his public life he served the Company and Rhodesia well. And, having dealt briefly with Milton the man, it is now time to consider Milton the Administrator.

Sir William Henry Milton, K.C.M.G. (1903), K.C.V.O. (1910), born in 1854 the son of a clergyman and educated at Marlborough, entered the Cape Civil Service in 1878, was appointed the officiating clerk to the Executive Council at 35, became acting Secretary in the Prime Minister's Department for six months in 1891, was Personal Private Secretary to Rhodes in December that year and was promoted to chief clerk and chief accountant in the Office of the Colonial Secretary. In 1894 he became permanent head of the Department of the Prime Minister and the Native Affairs Department. It was a fairly distinguished career even before Rhodes telegraphed from Bulawayo offering him a post as head of Native Affairs and civil administration and, as a matter of interest, it eventually earned him a pension of £184 12s. 4d. *per annum* from the Union Government. Once in Rhodesia he held in succession the posts of Chief Secretary, Secretary for Native Affairs, which he retained all his service, Acting Administrator, Administrator for Mashonaland and, from December 1901, Administrator of Southern Rhodesia.

I have already mentioned the state of the country when Milton arrived and now must turn to how he used his influence to develop order out of near chaos. This was not an easy task — a public servant is just that; he is not a servant of the public, nor any sector nor individual member of it. What he does, how he operates, is largely unsung, the implementation of policy formulated by someone else — in Milton's case the Company and the Legislature — is often presented to the public as a *fait accompli.* What has led to a particular decision or course of action may be lost in the columns of Hansard or the minutes of Cabinet or of parliamentary committees, or simply gone unnoticed in the day to day administration of the country. This was so, but even more so, in Milton's time owing to the slowness of communications and the fact that he had to have

regard to the decisions of the Board of Directors in faraway London and to the interests of the Colonial Office (as manifested by the High Commissioner in Cape Town), who were quick to note slips.

Suffice it to say for the moment that the Administrator of Southern Rhodesia in the early years of this century had an endless variety of tasks. He was concerned as much with trivia as he was with policy, and he had to build a civil administration virtually from scratch.

Milton's attention to detail can be seen best from his work in the Legislative Council. His speeches at the opening of a session indicate clearly the attention he gave to the current state of the country and the measures needed to foster development, to remedy defects in matters that had gone awry. He conducted business with humour: in 1903 during a debate on the Ancient Monuments Protection Ordinance, Mr. Frames drew attention to a provision that permitted the Administrator from time to time, for the purpose of scientific research or other proper object, to authorise any act to be done for the preservation of an ancient monument. He thought the term "scientific research or other proper object" too vague. Who, he asked, was to decide what a "proper object" was? Replied Milton ruefully, "The poor Administrator".

But he could be firm too. A complaint by Mr. Grimmer at the First Session of the First Council in 1899 set the tone for future conduct in the Council. Mr. Grimmer drew attention to dissatisfaction over pay among Post Office employees, to earn a stern rebuke from Milton, that this was not the proper forum in which to air such compaints — Milton regretted that *members should take up these cases of alleged grievances without first making inquiries of the Executive.* In his attention to the good governance of the country however, Milton was not the man to let the matter rest there, and promised immediately to make his own enquiries.

One can be but brief and selective in a talk such as this but the laws passed during Milton's term of eighteen years show his conscientious attention to measures that would have a civilising effect on the country. The Ancient Monuments Ordinance is a case in point. There were many others, not so much the seemingly important ones relating to mining, railways, education or health, but those reflecting the 'nuts and bolts' of ordinary life — provisions for garnishee orders so that a man might recover a debt due to him, the protection of trade marks, provisions for outspans, suppressing witchcraft, regularising relationships between employer and employee, even for providing a memorial to Queen Victoria. In addition, he had to organise his own civil service and even work out the procedure and standing orders for his own 'parliament'.

In all this he was a servant of the Company and stood between his employers and the settlers when necessary. Yet, he was a man who was in favour of increased electoral representation in the Legislative Council and did not stand in the way of its being increased as the years went by.

His success is evident from the tributes paid to him on retirement by the Council —

Times had been troublesome, said Sir Charles Coghlan. *One had only to contrast the position of the country as it was today with what it was then to realise the progress which had been made under Sir William Milton's wise and able administration . . . Year in and year out progress had been made.*

And what of the progress in general terms? It is summed up on the Company's valedictory letter to Milton —

You leave the country, wrote the President of the B.S.A. Company, *with a loyal, prosperous and rapidly increasing native population, a white population that has trebled itself since* 1896; *a gold production which runs into millions annually, an educational system with which your name will always be associated in advance of that of any British possession of similar standing; with every sign of material prosperity in its towns and villages; a Civil Service which compares favourably in efficiency and zeal with that of any Colony under the Crown.*

You found Rhodesia a small community engaged in a struggle for its existence; you leave it with the resources, the political aspirations and ambitions of a British colony with an assured future.

It had been a magnificent effort by any standards, a governance of exactly the type needed by a fledgling country such as Rhodesia, before it left the nest. By the time Milton left office, the implantation of civilisation in the former wilderness was complete.

III

His successor was Francis Drummond Percy Chaplin, a man of very different stamp, with a very different career. A product of Gloucestershire squirearchy, from Harrow, Oxford and the Bar he first arrived in Rhodesia in 1897, but liked Bulawayo as little as had Milton the year before and departed for the Rand to take up a post as correspondent for *The Times.* Inevitably he met Rhodes, although nothing came of that meeting. Two years later he went to Moscow to work for the *Morning Post,* but returned to South Africa in 1900 when, on Rhodes' recommendation, he was offered the joint managership of Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Ltd.

Chaplin was immensely able and ambitious, and set out to carve a memorable career in mining and politics. An uncompromising Imperialist, he took to politics with gusto and in 1907 represented Germiston in the Transvaal Legislature. Three years later as a member of the Unionist Party, he took his seat in the Union Parliament. By the time of Milton's retirement, Chaplin, an experienced politician, administrator and businessman was an obvious choice to be the new Administrator of Rhodesia.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Company in 1914, Jameson spelt out the qualities needed in a prospective Administrator of Southern Rhodesia at that time. The post, he said —*requires several different and distinct qualities* —

administrative ability, tact in dealing with the growing and I am afraid sometimes impatient community, and especially in your interests it requires financial ability.

Chaplin had all these qualities to a fault and herein, perhaps, lies the difference between his administratorship and that of Milton.

Milton was the solid, dedicated public servant, starting with the barest essentials, prepared to use his ability and iniative literally to build a country in the best way he knew how. Not unnaturally, he drew greatly on his experience in the Cape Civil Service.

Chaplin, on the other hand, was a politician by inclination, and thought like one. Moreover, unlike his predecessor, he had spent the years prior to his appointment in the service of a great mining house linked with the British South Africa Company. He had become very much a 'Company man'. Chaplin, therefore, did not set out from a background of apolitical administrative experience; on the contrary, his approach to most problems tended to be from a political standpoint, tempered by his awareness of the Company's interests. It was probably something Rhodesia needed at that particular stage in its development as a cohesive community, and so, equally probably, why Chaplin was such an extraordinarily successful Administrator during a very difficult period. I venture to suggest that Milton would not have been so successful if he had remained in office for another eight years, any more than Chaplin would have been successful during the bulk of the period in which Milton was Administrator — especially the early years.

The Chaplins on tour. Sir Drummond and Lady Chaplin (centre) at Inyanga, 1916.
(Photo: National Archives)

The nature of the job had also changed. By the time Chaplin arrived on the scene, the settler community had increased substantially and elected members, increased progressively during Milton's administration, constituted a majority in the Legislative Council. By and large, in the early years, Milton could afford to ignore the wishes of the electorate: Chaplin could not. What is more, the former autocratic position of the Administrator had been weakened, something Raleigh Grey, the Resident Commissioner, was uncomfortably swift to point out to Chaplin early on.

Grey reminded Chaplin that although the Administrator had direct access to the High Commissioner in Cape Town and might act on occasion as the representative of the King, the fact remained that his powers were not without restraint. It was open to the High Commissioner to issue his own orders directly to someone nominated by him if things went wrong, and although this power was likely to be used only in exceptional circumstances, Grey listed these. They included, he wrote, the failure of the Company efficiently to carry out its obligations or obey the orders of the Imperial Government, or if the Company exceeded its authority. He went on to say that these were only safeguards and such powers would not be used unless necessary, for the Imperial Government would not attempt to place itself in an undignified position by conferring upon any subordinate officer administrative authority independent of the government. Nevertheless, it was a clear warning to Chaplin that his powers were far from unlimited.

However, none of this seemed to daunt Chaplin and within three months of taking office he set out on a tour to Matabeleland and met the Matabele chiefs — delighted by the royal salute he received from them. By the end of April, 1915, he was back in Salisbury for a meeting of the Legislative Council, where he was, he wrote, *President, rather similar to Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords. I act as Speaker but can also take part in debate if I choose.* One gains the impression that he thought it all rather grand. The Chaplins were great entertainers and at this, his first session of the Legislative Council, they threw a garden party for four hundred and on three nights of the week sat down to dinner with twenty guests. By and large the session was successful and Chaplin was off to a good start. When it was over he went off again on tour, visiting first Victoria Falls and later Fort Victoria and Zimbabwe. He threw himself enthusiastically into the War effort, only to find that rather more effort was needed to prevent eligible men volunteering for service than in encouraging them to do so. So many left that he had difficulty ensuring sufficient manpower remained to keep the country running smoothly. Nevertheless, in 1916, he raised the Southern Rhodesia Native Regiment (precursor of the Rhodesian African Rifles), losing, as he said, three of his best garden boys in the process!

This sort of thing was all very well, but once Chaplin had settled into the job it was not demanding enough to satisfy his intellectual ability and he grew increasingly restless. He became bored with the Legislative Council sittings; they became — *increasingly dull. I know the point of view of the (elected) members*

from A to Z — a very limited outlook, being in effect a mere question of the amount of money of which they can bleed the Company. This attitude may well have clouded his judgement. Although he regarded the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia as a worthwhile political exercise, he conceded that there would be objections on the grounds of economy. The fact that he was not prepared to acknowledge the possible validity of such objections was a weakness, particularly as he was willing to support such a scheme solely in the interests of the Company, on the grounds that its hand would be strengthened in any future dealings with the Union and the Imperial Government. No doubt with this thought uppermost, he considered objectors to the proposal in Bulawayo very *sticky and stupid.*

His next scheme, somewhat more grandiose, certainly suggests boredom with home affairs and was really outside his terms of reference as Administrator. He suggested, quite seriously, that in order to prevent Germany ever again becoming an aggressor that it would be a splendid thing if the Portuguese could be persuaded to take over the greater part of Tanganyika (at that time German East Africa). If they agreed, he thought, then the territory south of the Sabi could be annexed to the Union and that between the Zambezi and the Sabi could be incorporated into Rhodesia. In essence this was not a new idea — it had been considered at least twice in the previous thirty years — but it was still preposterous. Because of the line the authorities in Rhodesia had adopted towards the rebels in the Makombe Rebellion against the Portuguese, relationships between the two countries were not at their best in any event. Even Chaplin's biographer was moved to remark that the reluctance of the Portuguese to hand over the territory they had possessed, however nominally, for four hundred years was stronger than Chaplin imagined.

On the question of Responsible Government, Chaplin early accepted the need for change —
The more one considers the whole position, he wrote in 1918, *the more evident it becomes that the present system cannot last and that, from the administrative point of view, it must be a question of marking time until a change takes place.*

He was, however, totally opposed to Responsible Government and felt that it was not practicable. For quite a long time he could not believe that anyone else should seriously think otherwise. He wrote —
Most of the elected members know quite well that Responsible Government is quite impractible and I imagine that those of them who have or represent any substantial stake in the country would not have asked for it if they had thought there was the least chance of it being granted.

With the settlement of the land question he at last did come to realise that the settlers, at any rate, felt there was an alternative to joining the Union and threw his energies into the latter, convinced that this would be to the Company's best advantage. He could obviously take no overt part in the campaigning towards any particular political goal but his correspondence reveals his own views. At the start of the referendum campaign he went to Northern Rhodesia.

of which at that time he was also the Administrator. At Livingstone the Legislative Council demanded to have control of expenditure in the territory. The members behaved, he wrote, *like a lot of silly children, demanding in effect control of expenditure, oblivious of the fact that the Company spends* £10 000 *per annum on them more than the revenue produces.* With Chaplin, the Company's interests did indeed seem to be paramount.

In August 1923, he set off on his last tour, to explain the coming changes to the Mashona and Matabele chiefs. He was still not convinced of the rightness of Responsible Government and found the task difficult, taking the view that a popular government based on 18 000 white voters was not at all a suitable form of government for 850 000 natives who understood only the personal view. It was his last sour, 'though perhaps penetrating, comment and the round of farewell gatherings began.

Coghlan, soon to be the country's first Prime Minister, stated tactfully that Chaplin's term as Administrator had been mostly under war conditions and in an abnormal state of affairs, such as to tax the ability of anyone to win through. Nevertheless, he acknowledged to the full that it had been Chaplin's wise and far-sighted statesmanship that enabled the country so successfully to surmount its difficulties. Coghlan praised —
his courtesy, dignity, zeal; his constant approachability; his readiness with advice; (and) the great assistance he gave to members, especially since the constitutional question came to the fore.

Chaplin, he added, took with him the goodwill of them all. It was a fair tribute from a man who had been the Administrator's chief opponent in the Legislative Council, and with it Chaplin bowed out of office. Whatever his personal faults, and they lay largely with his loyalty to his employer's interests, he had been careful to maintain an impartial public image and his regime was thoroughly successful. It was as though the day to day duties of an Administrator, so difficult as they might seem to others, came very easily to him, and as it happened there was some talk of him accepting a Colonial Governorship when he retired, although it came to nothing.

These two men, who, in their lifetimes, did so much for the development of Rhodesia, died within a few years of each other; Milton in the South of France in 1930, and Chaplin at the Cape in 1933. Both men are, of course commemorated in the names of schools, buildings and streets throughout Rhodesia. However, there is a curious souvenir of Chaplin which may not be so well known.

In 1917 Chaplin was knighted, receiving the K.C.M.G., and then the G.B.E. on his retirement from the post of Administrator. He was also a knight of the Order of St. John. At his funeral the sword of the Commandery of the Order in Southern Africa was placed on his coffin as a mark of respect. That same sword was in 1953 presented to the newly formed Commandery of the Order in Central Africa, with its headquarters in Salisbury. It is still very much

in use in the ceremonies of the Order — a souvenir and a reminder of a man who had much to do with the early development of Rhodesia.

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The Settlers

by Professor R. S. Roberts

I have taken the title given me to mean those people who settled in this country in and after 1890 — and thus not to include those numerous immigrant peoples earlier in the nineteenth century (the 'Shangaans', Hlengwe, Venda, Sotho and Ndebele) who so altered the settlement pattern of the south-eastern, southern and south-western parts of the country. This, however, is not to say that we are concerned simply with Europeans, for the Administration of the British South Africa Company also involved the settlement of Cape Coloureds and Fingos, and created the economic conditions that attracted Indians and required foreign Africans to supplement the labour supply. Nevertheless, the Europeans were both the largest and the most influential group; and most of what I have to say will be about them.

Our modern settlers, then, date from September 1890 with the disbandment of the Pioneer Corps of something under 200 Pioneers followed by the gradual run-down of the force of some 500 police who had accompanied the Column.

Very different opinions have been expressed about the character of the Pioneers — ranging from Frank Johnson's claim that they were a hand-picked rather gentlemanly group to Victor Morier's dismissal of them as a rather mixed bunch that included many drifters. The late Robert Cary has analysed these Pioneers more carefully, and he found that almost half were born in the United Kingdom and the other half in South Africa, but that almost all were resident in South Africa. Their age was between 27 and 30 years (range 15-52), and more than half, as is to be expected, were in the 20-29 year bracket. Many came from good South African families, especially the 1820 settlers of the Eastern Cape which had something of a Kimberley extension that continued for many years to supply immigrants, such as C. P. Coghlan. The Bechuanaland Border Police was an important source of immediate origin — notably, of course, Johnson and his group — and unlike the generality of Pioneers, these people having seen the barrenness of Bechuanaland became fairly permanent residents.

This question of permanence of residence is obviously of crucial importance to our theme of settlement. About 30 per cent of the Pioneers had no great long-term effect on settlement because they died of fever or were killed in action between 1893 and the end of the Boer War. Another 50 per cent, approximately, appear to have left the country by 1902 — thus leaving only about 15 per cent who might live out their lives in Rhodesia, i.e. a mere 29 men!

We do not know as much about the early Police (who were nearly three times more numerous) but the same sort of picture is probably true. One point of difference, however, is clear: a greater proportion of them came directly from Britain; certainly in Salisbury in 1897, 78 per cent of the Police were born in

Britain, compared with 52 per cent of the rest of the population there. This pattern of recruitment remained almost to the present and has been an important source of permanent settlers — sometimes too much so, in that the Police Force was often under strength because it was being used simply as a stepping-stone to other occupations.

As there was no real census until 1904, we do not know very much more about the first decade or so of settlement. The first woman settler (illegal) was, of course, Countess Billie in December 1890; but the unsettled conditions, the poor communications and the failure to find a second Rand naturally deterred the fairer sex. At the time of the Risings there were probably about 400 females in the country — the majority between the ages of 16 and 40. It was then very much a frontier population: a mere 20 females for every 100 males; a youthful average age of about 27 years; a mere 25 per cent of the adults married and half the married men not accompanied by their wives; very few of the women had occupations, except in the spiritual-medical field (nuns and missionaries) and in the domestic-sexual (housekeepers, domestic servants, barmaids, prostitutes and 'dress-makers').

The male occupational structure was unusual in its very high predominance of Government employees — police and officials — constituting some 40 per cent, and in its relatively high proportion of unemployed because of the Risings and lack of expected development, which in turn led to an over-representation of professional, service and commercial occupations.

Two enduring but contradictory aspects of the Rhodesian political economy were also already present. Firstly there were the large numbers of police and officials backed by missionaries, mine supervisors, etc. — representatives of a colonial system governing a more numerous subject people (unlike Australia or Canada); and secondly there were the significant numbers of carpenters, bricklayers, smiths, prospectors, farmers — representatives of a White society of settlement (not seen in other parts of the Empire like Uganda, Malaya or India).

The significant turning point of settlement came in the years immediately following 1903-4 when the goldmining industry, such as it was, slumped and had to be reconstructed on much less ambitious lines. This convinced the British South Africa Company that its future commercial success largely depended upon the one real asset it possessed — the land of Rhodesia which was not Reserves or already given or sold to settlers; and it was clear that this asset could only appreciate and be profitable, if commercial farming could be seen to succeed, to attract settlers and so push up the prices that could be charged. Consequently agricultural research, settlement schemes and farm-training programmes proceeded. The European population thus doubled, from 11 000 in 1901 to 23 000 in 1911, almost entirely by immigration — the decade of fastest growth in Rhodesian history (approached only by that of 1941-50). It was also the time (1911) that the rural population reached its peak as a pro-

portion and has fallen steadily ever since as a proportion. This means that the main outline of rural-farming settlement was set as early as 1911 — and only another mere 30 000 Whites were ever to be added to the total rural population (a figure which has declined to about 24 000 since the peak in 1956). This amazing statistic is of course but a reflectin of the major fact — the tiny size of European population compared with the African — and of the lesser but significant fact that this tiny European population has increasingly become an urban one — 50 per cent in 1911 to 78-88 per cent today, according to how exactly urban is defined.

But this is to anticipate: for the period around 1911, and thereafter, the changing emphasis towards farming and its growing population also established what was to be another enduring feature of the political economy of Rhodesia: the existence of a strong farming interest (c. 20 per cent of voters) which ranged itself against that of mining (c. 20 per cent) — with the urban commercial, industrial, professional interests standing, by virtue of their functions, somewhat between these opposing groups. Much of Rhodesian politics, notably the Responsible Government movement, was to turn on this competition between the two major interests.

Another interesting feature of this rapid growth in the number of farmers was that it coincided with a swing towards settlement from South Africa which appears to have two, somewhat contradictory, ingredients. First there was the large number of British South Africans reacting against the increasing political power of Afrikaners once reconciliation and Union had been decided upon; secondly, there were poor Afrikaners seeking better opportunities and land in Rhodesia, who came in such numbers that Afrikaners reached about 20 per cent of the European population in 1921 — their highest proportion ever! It was these two antagonistic movements that gave particular edge to the struggle between Unionists and the Republic Government movement.

As for the British South Africa Company policy by which settlers were attracted, admitted, rejected or deported, little in detail is yet known. But the broad outlines were already apparent of a situation that was to become clearer under Responsible Government. The representatives of the settlers — the Elected Members — always urged more vigorous immigration because they saw a larger population as the way of obtaining more political power *vis-a-vis* the Company; and for many, of course, more political power against the Company was but the first step to Resposible Government rather than inclusion in the Union. The Company, for its part, also wanted immigrants — but only ones who would effectively raise the price of land, i.e. those with capital of £500 — £1 000 who could make a commercial success of farming and not, like so many of the Afrikaners and other Pioneers, be little more than subsistence farmers, eking out a living by sideline activities like transport riding, supplying wood to mines, or prospecting. Nothing could be worse for the Company's commercial long-term interests than that Rhodesia should be seen to have a 'poor white' population whether in country or town. Consequently these appears to have been unofficial police action to keep out as far as possible undesirable settlers.

This sort of immigration control also raises the question of the other settlers — particularly Indians, but also Fingos, Cape Coloureds and Africans from surrounding territories. This in the early years of settlement was not a small matter. There was a non-indigenous population of some 32 000 in 1904 of whom 12 000 were Europeans; 1000 Asian; 1 000 Coloured; 13 000 Africans from Portuguese territories or North of the Zambezi; and 5 000 colonial natives. Thus the Europeans were somewhat less than 40 per cent of the settler population. It could be argued that the 13 000 Africans from Portuguese territories or North of the Zambezi should be eliminated as they were migrant workers, but there is some evidence that the apparently very high rate of population growth of the indigenous population is partly explained, at least, by considerable settlement by such migrants. But even if we do exclude these 'migrants', the Europeans were only just over 60 per cent of the settler population.

Over 20 per cent were Africans from the South: notably the Fingos brought in by Rhodes with promises of land, in order to help the labour supply. But other tribal groups were also, often in some secrecy, brought over the borders of Bechuanaland, the Transvaal and Mozambique. This was very unpopular with both the European settlers and the Colonial Office, and from the Company point of view not a great success in augmenting the labour supply. The same combination of opposition effectively defeated plans for importing Somalis, Abyssinians, Yemenis, Zanzibaris. Indians, Chinese, and even West Indians and Polynesians to provide the necessary labour. The main obstacle to all this was the rooted objection of the European settler to any repetition of what had happened in Natal, where Indian labourers had managed to stay on after their contracts and set up in trade and other callings. About 1 000 Indians had in fact established themselves in Southern Rhodesia by 1901; and, although, contrary to general belief, their entry into market-gardening and trade was very slow, their very presence created exaggerated alarm. Consequently a series of legislative and administrative restrictions were imposed and culminated in the virtual cessation of Indian immigration in 1924. The result has been that whereas the European population has risen by the factor of 21 since 1901. that of Indians has risen only by 9.

The Cape Coloureds came in mainly in menial positions of employment with their masters, as valets, drivers, cooks, and so never aroused the fears that the passenger-Indian did: there was, of course, not the same fear of being swamped, and the high factor of Coloured population growth since 1901 (i.e. 15) is of course due not so much to immigration or high fertility, but to the fact that miscegenation between African women and European and Indian men was not uncommon, in the first forty years of settlement.

If we return then to the dominant settlers — the Europeans — the population figures are as follows:

		Average annual percentage growth over previous decade
1901	11000	
1911	23 000	7,9
1921	33 000	3,6
1931	50 000	4,0
1941	69 000	3,3
1951	138 000	7,0

By 1921 and the time of Responsible Government, of course, there was a settler population that was no longer that of a pioneer nature: i.e. 44 per cent of the population was female, and the proportion married was similar to that of a normal stable population (as in South Africa or the United Kingdom). The age distribution also was becoming more normal in that the preponderance of people in the 20-40 age group was falling as settlers grew older and as married couples had children — by 1930 one-third of Rhodesians had been born in the country. This fact had undoubtedly led to a feeling of Rhodesian 'nationalism'. In the negative aspect, this comprised a strong disassociation from South Africans, especially Afrikaners, and a far less welcoming acceptance of non-British Europeans than there had been in the days of pioneering camaraderie. In the positive aspect, the feeling of identity was not so much 'Rhodesian' as British; the reason for this was that the one-third of new settlers who had been born in South Africa were self-selected British who left South Africa out of loyalty to Britain in face of Afrikaner nationalism and republicanism and that about one-quarter of new settlers were born in Britain. Thus, in the inter-war years, 95 per cent of the total white Rhodesian population were 'British' and the development after Responsible Government of a good educational system, very much based on English public school lines, tended to reinforce an ethos that in some ways was more British than the British.

Although the population was growing (33 000 to 69 000 in the period 1921-41), it still was not enough. Rhodesia was the last frontier of European (British) settlement, and unfortunately for Rhodesians the great surge of emigration had come to an end in the First World War. Strange as it may seem, people did not emigrate in large numbers from Britain in the difficult inter-war years. Consequently, it was an increasingly obvious fact that the Rhodesian settlers were not making any significant dent on the vast preponderance of Africans over Europeans. One of the main issues of opposition politics, indeed one of its very causes, was the desire of the Progressive, Reform and Liberal parties (and the Dominion Party and the Rhodesian Front since) for massive White settlement on small intensive farms — an ideal of a White Dominion that inspired that greatly neglected figure, N. H. Wilson — to be achieved by a vigorous immigration policy in which fares would be paid, land would be cheap, if not free, and every sort of agricultural assistance would be given. But the ruling Establishment, especially under Huggins from 1933 onwards, was

hostile. Their Britishness consisted of a romantic nineteenth-century sense of escape from industrialisation to become gentlemen-farmers: a well-educated, well-bred and high-minded elite who would never become poor Whites or compete with Africans but who woud treat them with paternal fairness and impartial justice. Hence the insistence on social background, capital, qualifications and job. This view, combined with mild xenophobia, against 'lesser breeds', kept out immigrants from southern, eastern and central Europe, notably Jews who would probably have come in large numbers after 1933. One example of this is the difficulty that R. D. Gilchrist had in getting permission for Czechs to come to set up Bata Shoes; another is the fascist-like views and activities of upper-class people like Captain H. H. Beamish, briefly an Independent Member of Parliament, Major L. M. Hastings, a Government backbencher, and Captain F. E. Kimpton.

After the War, the great increase in population did come, owing to the changed conditions in the United Kingdom. But immigration policy was still restricted almost entirely to British (the Aliens Act of 1946) and to 'the right sort of people' — not so much office workers or skilled artisans but rather professional people, businessmen and farmers who could bring considerable funds with them (about £600 per family, in fact, which meant more than £31 000 000 in total between 1946 and 1953). By and large the new immigrants became urban dwellers, and from their arrival dates the rapid growth of Salisbury, Bulawayo and modern industry. It was the strain of providing the infrastructure for these people that made union with the north a more attractive proposition and so led to the Federation.

About one-third of the voters of Southern Rhodesia in 1953, however, wanted a much wider immigration policy and political independence rather than Federation which, they rightly feared, would turn the European to African ratio back just when it had turned in their favour for the first time. But Huggins and the majority clung to his ideal of the gentleman-ruler and decided to forego the idea of separate Dominion status (which might not have been a totally impracticable proposition in 1950) in favour of the attractions of a wider Federal unit.

The beginning of Federation is the terminal date for this Symposium, but a brief epilogue will, I think, fill out the picture and confirm the theme I have attempted to follow. The rise of the Dominion Party and then the Rhodesian Front was primarily a reaction against African nationalism, but this was a development that naturally revived the older themes of massive immigration as a means of bolstering the Whites' demand for independence. But by the 1960s it was too late for massive immigration. The uncertainties caused by the break-up of the Federation caused the first ever decline in the population, from 1962 to 1967. Nevertheless the Rhodesian Front's new policy of accepting almost any White as an immigrant did manage to increase the White popuation, despite U.D.I., in the years 1967-75, until the recent fighting converted that trend again, into one of net loss from emigration since 1976.

In conclusion, therefore, it can be seen that the overall size and structure of the settler population is largely due to policies and attitudes that predominated from the reconstruction of the mining industry (c. 1904) to the slump of 1930-1, and were then perpetuated by Huggins and the very British Establishment until the end of Federation.

But one wonders whether different immigration policies, alone, would have made a great difference. White Southern Rhodesia was not so much a nation as a frontier area of constantly moving population, as it still is today — at the time of U.D.I, the White population was about 210 000 which since then has been modified by the emigration of about 103 000 and the immigration of about 126 000! Thus, the most striking and persistent feature of 'settlement' in Southern Rhodesia is that, for every hundred immigrants arriving, between sixty and eighty were always leaving, even at the height of the post-war and Federal boom. As a 'settlement', White Rhodesia has been a sort of select suburban-cum-gentleman-farming 'frontier' outpost of Britain and English-speaking South Africa, to which many 'settlers' always intended to return.

By and large, the Whites who have come to this country have not. in fact, been settlers at all.

NOTES ON SOURCES

This address is based essentially on the Census Reports of Southern Rhodesia 1901-69 (which are described by R. S. Roberts, 'An historical bibliography of Rhodesian demographic data. Part I: European', *The Rhodesian Librarian* (1977), IX, iii) and the migration statistics in the Central Statistical Office's *Economic and Statistical Bulletin,* later the *Monthly Digest of Statistics* (1933 to the present) and *Monthly Migration and Tourist Statistics* (1929 intermittently to the present). For some of the insights, I am indebted to Drs. B. A. Kosmin and H. I. Wetherell whose postgraduate theses I supervised.

The Banquet

The Silver Jubilee Banquet was held in the Monomatapa Hotel, Salisbury and was attended by 218 people.

Mr. M. J. Kimberley was Master of Ceremonies and gave the toast of "Rhodesia"; Professor R. S. Roberts toasted "The Rhodesiana Society"; and Mr. R. S. W. Turner replied.

In the course of his introductory remarks Mr. Kimberley said:

"This has been a great week for the Rhodesiana Society as we, the members with our guests and the general public, have celebrated our Silver Jubilee by various functions, exhibitions and events". He went on:

"And so Ladies and Gentlemen, I welcome each and every one of you tonight to one of the highlights of our Silver Jubilee programme. At the outset I mention with regret that the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, The Honourable Ian Smith, and his Good Lady, Mrs. Janet Smith, are unfortunately unable to be present tonight.

"Many of you have travelled from afar in order to be with us. We have people here who have come from Gwanda, from Bulawayo, from Umtali, and Inyanga, from the Midlands and from most areas of Mashonaland. We are delighted to have you.

"I extend a particular welcome to our official guests:

"The Honourable A. R. W. Stumbles who is Chairman of Heritage of Rhodesia and President of The National Historical Association, and Mrs. Stumbles.

"Mr. K.. A. Sinclair, President of the Rhodesia Pioneers and Early Settlers Society, and Mrs. Sinclair.

"Professor R. S. Roberts, Professor of History in the University of Rhodesia, and Mrs. Roberts.

"I also make special mention of our three Branch Chairmen, Mr. Vickery of Matabeleland, Mr. Went of Manicaland and Mr. Franks of Mashonaland, all of whom are present with their good ladies. The Branches are the life blood of our Society and we all depend on the Branch Chairmen and their committees a great deal.

"The four living recipients of our Gold Medal are present this evening and I cordially welcome Tony Tanser. Oliver Ransford and Harry Simons.

"It is also very nice to have Mrs. Cripwell, widow of our first Chairman with us."

The attractive, printed menu cards had been generously donated by our printers, Mardon Printers Ltd. The names of the dishes on the menu had an intriguing Rhodesian flavour. They were:

> *Clear oxtail soup Jameson; Fillet of Kingclip Fischer; Braised Breast of Partridge in Whisky a la Grand Theatre with Berny Potatoes Paddy O'Toole and Bouquetiere of Vegetables Arnold Edmonds; Apple Tart with Ice Cream a la Pioneer Street: Demie Tasse Gungunyana.*

Mr. Kimberley explained:

"When you look at your Banquet Menu the names of some of the courses may be unfamiliar so perhaps I should briefly indicate their derivations.

"The oxtail soup Jameson refers of course to Leander Starr Jameson who with his ill fated raid *et al* was alway in the soup so to speak.

"The fish course is named after the Fischer family who trekked to Rhodesia in the early 1890's and settled in the Headlands area.

"The main course requires a little explanation. Anthony Partridge, a wealthy butcher, and the father of the Honourable Mark Partridge, M.P., decided to go into competition with the existing places of entertainment then catering for the populace of Salisbury. He chose a site in what is now First Street, midway between Speke and Stanley Avenues, and, on 28th February, opened the Grand Theatre.

"Paddy O'Toole who gives his name to our potatoes was in the Cape Frontier Light Horse and won the Victoria Cross in the Zulu War against Cetewayo. He came to Rhodesia with the Pioneer Column in 1890 bringing with him some potatoes which he grew in the vlei where Highlands Presbyterian Church now stands.

"Arnold Edmonds grew vegetables on his farm at Glen Lome and supplied them to the citizens of Salisbury.

"The dessert is I think straightforward — Tony Tanser tells me that the street in question has not changed in 80 years! In his book "A Sequence of Time" he mentions that one of the first actions taken by the Municipal Council after its formation in 1897 had been to try to deal with the problem of the prostitutes in Pioneer Street. He tells the story of the Police being called in to settle a brawl in which property had been smashed. The Sergeant who had frequently warned the young policeman of the desirability of avoiding Pioneer Street was busy making an inventory of the damage. When a description of a broken lamp was needed he was reminded of the item with "You know Sergeant the big red one that stood on the table next to my bed."

Gungunyana was Paramount Chief of Gazaland in Mozambique at the end of the 19th Century. He was hostile to the Portuguese and the B.S.A. Co. approached him for support against the Portuguese.

Professor R. S. Roberts, in giving the toast of the Rhodesiana Society opened with some witty and light-hearted remarks about professional historians suggesting that he was the Rhodesian equivalent of the ancient Scottish post of *historiographer-royal* a post that had in the past been coupled with that of *poet-laureate* — a post that was "also such fun".

Professors, he said, were supposed to do research as well as lecture and one member of the Society had asked him the relationship between these two aspects of the post. He had replied — "it is best compared with sin and confession — if you have not done the former, there is little worthwhile talking about the latter". He went on:

"**The Rhodesiana Society** founded 25 years ago by Mr. Cripwell and Mr. Lloyd — a very small beginning — of less than a score of members and no money. How different tonight's gathering from that of the Second Annual General Meeting in November 1955 when only four members and one guest turned up!

"An important milestone was in 1956 with the beginning of publication — **Rhodesiana No. 1** — undertaken with much labour, trouble and financial insecurity. Now we are at No. 38 — not to mention other publications of conferences such as today's.

"And so the Rhodesiana Society has grown, proliferated regional organizations, arranged historical outings, like tomorrow's, and obtained the strength and security that comes from some 1 200 members: — A record of 25 years progress that is quickly said but pays insufficient tribute to the long hours of work, trouble and dedication put in by countless volunteers — of diverse backgrounds — whose one, uniting bond and motive has been the disinterested study of the past. Everyone in this country, and many outside, have profound cause to be grateful to your Society, Mr. Chairman. I am no heraldist, but I interpret your crest of a lion rising on a book to signify the book of learning, the knowledge of the past, from which we rise with courage to face the future. A fitting indication of your role — and happily appropriate to all that you do."

The Amateur Historian. Professor Roberts then went on to discuss **a** general question of history — the relationship of professional and amateur historians. There is a place for both in Rhodesia. *(An appreciation that the Society has been following up by the founding of a scholarship for amateur historians. See below in this issue. — Editor).* Professor Roberts said:

"One other aspect of the Rhodesiana Society that I would like to dwell on, Mr. Chairman, is the general question of history — and particularly the question of professionals and amateurs. I must admit that co-operation between us professionals and the amateurs has not always been as close as it might have been — but I hope it will grow closer. We each have something to offer the other — and what the amateur has to offer in particular is his dedication and disinterestedness. He is not in the position of some young professional historians who have to publish or perish. The amateur pursues his subject for its own sake and value and for no more reward than personal satisfaction.

"Therefore I would like to conclude by again expressing the hope that co-operation between all of us who are interested in the history of this country will increase. We face difficult changing times — difficulties that may affect not only society in general, but in particular voluntary societies such as Rhodesiana, Central Africa Historical Association, Prehistory Society, Pioneers and Early Settlers' Society — and publications in the field of history like *NADA.* We may have to fill slightly different functions, the emphasis of our interests may indeed change (for one of the fascinations of history is that events

of today always subtly alter the way we view the past). We do not want it to be said, as of post-war Britain, that we lose an empire and cannot find a new role.

"But — with respect Mr. Chairman — there are untapped fields of history of this country — into which Rhodesiana should boldly step as Pioneer history recedes somewhat. This, with the exception of South Africa, is a unique country in Sub-Saharan Africa — where else in Africa could it be said at such a splendid banquet as this — that the food we have eaten, the wine we have drunk, the furniture we sit at, the materials and skills inherent in the building we sit in — are the produce of this country. They are, and that is extraordinary — but where in Rhodesia, or anywhere else, are the articles of historians, professional **or** amateur, the business men, farmers and administrators which explain how, when, why this came about. Where is the economic history of this country? — If we survive and prosper here — it will be through the history of our economic rather than our political achievement."

Mr. R. S. W. Turner replied to the toast in typical humorous inimitable vein.

BACK NUMBERS OF RHODESIANA

Only the following back numbers of *Rhodesiana* are in stock. Copies can be bought from the Rhodesiana Society, RO. Box 8268, Causeway, Salisbury, Rhodesia, at a cost of R$3,00 per copy, which includes Sales Tax and surface postage to any part of the world. Remittances from outside Rhodesia must be for the equivalent of Rhodesian currency.

Rhodesiana No. 17, December 1967.

Rhodesiana No. 20, July 1969 to *Rhodesiana* No. 24, July 1971.

Rhodesiana No. 26, 1972 onwards, two issues a year, up to the current number. *Rhodesiana* No. 39. September 1978.

Train Journey to Marandellas

History of Marandellas, Bromley and Melfort Areas

The last event of the Celebrations, on Sunday, 14th May, was a steam train journey to Marandellas and back, with a stop at Melfort siding on the forward journey.

Five years ago a similar nostalgic steam train journey was made to Glendale and it was so successful that the Committee decided to repeat such a journey this time to Marandellas. The idea struck the imagination of the public and 550 people, many of them in Edwardian and Victorian dress enjoyed a most cheerful and friendly day's outing. The train was drawn by a Class 15A Garrett locomotive which had some difficulty on the return journey, in drawing the thirteen coaches and luggage van up the steep incline between Bromley and Melfort. The engine driver fitted into the historical pattern. He was Mr. M. E. Whitelaw who had been fireman on the first train to run from Gwelo to Lourenco Marques via Malvernia.

At Melfort, a talk on the history of the Bromley area was given by G. H. Tanser. (See below).

At Marandellas the party was greeted by the Mayor (Councillor N. G. Eades) and the Town Clerk. Here, in his introductory remarks, the National Chairman, Michael J. Kimberley, said that Marandellas had been chosen for the trip for several reasons — "Firstly, because Marandellas has an exciting history dating back to 1891 and, secondly, because its citizens are noted for their friendliness and hospitality . . . Before concluding my remarks I have to say that I have brought with me a message to you from His Worship the Mayor of Salisbury which I now propose to read."

The Mayor of Salisbury's message concluded — "As Mayor of the oldest municipality in Rhodesia I am very pleased indeed to wish you, the Mayor of the youngest Rhodesian Municipality and of our nearest municipal neighbour, sincere congratulations and continued success in all matters affecting the citizens of your town. The schools which have been established in your town offer first class educational facilities for many of the children from Salisbury homes, so there is a strong link between your town and our city. I understand that you, your Worship, your Council and your residents have co-operated with the Rhodesiana Society in offering generous assistance and hospitality to the visitors. On their behalf I would like to thank you for these favours. I trust that the bonds between our respective municipalities will be strengthened by the visit now being made by a large number of our residents who are travelling

to Marandellas by the special train journey which is part of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Rhodesiana Society."

The Vintage Car Club of Rhodesia Rally (mentioned earlier) arrived in Marandellas about the same time and paraded round The Green.

His Worship the Mayor gave a brief outline of the history of Marandellas from 1928 to 1978 and Senator Brendon talked on the history of old Marandellas before 1928. (See below.)

A visit was made to the War Memorial where G. H. Tanser gave a talk on the Rhodesia Field Force in Marandellas, 1899-1900 (see below).

A booklet, Mashonaland Branch, Rhodesiana Society, Brochure No. 8 was on sale. It contains a history of the Society by Michael J. Kimberley, a map and a history of the Melfort, Bromley and Marandellas districts by G. H. Tanser.

The texts of the talks follow:

JAMES ADAIR CAMPBELL AND THE BROMLEY AREA

by

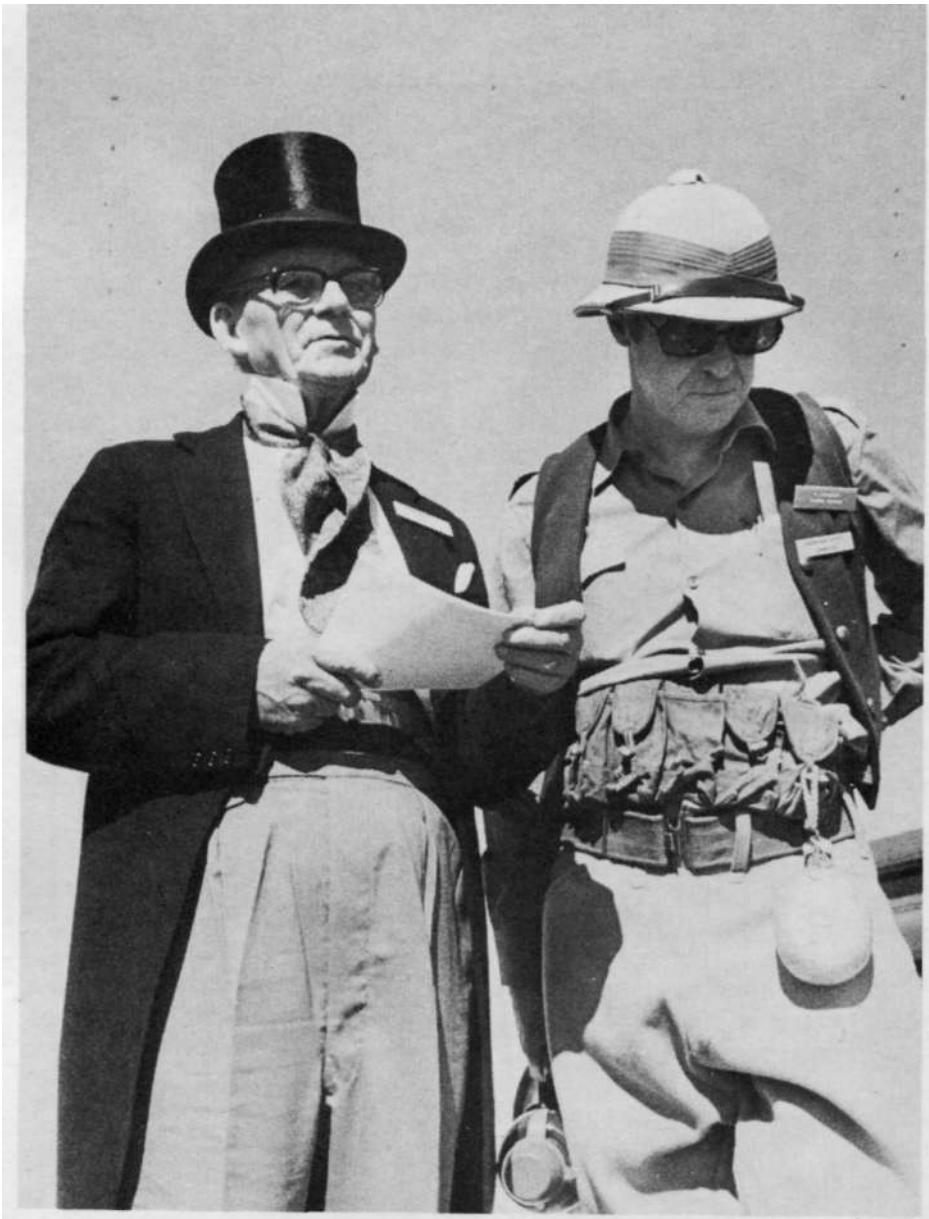
G. H. TANSER

In this short talk I shall try to add a little more information to that given in the brochure *{Mashonaland Branch Brochure No.* 8 *mentioned above. — Editor).*

In particular I wish to add to your knowledge of Lieutenant James Adair Campbell who played a large part in the development of the Bromley area. Before coming to South Africa he had been an officer in the Ayrshire Yeomanry so he had some military training and this was no doubt why he was given the rank of Lieutenant in the Pioneer Column.

He came from a famous clan, the Campbells, who occupied the south-western coast of Scotland north of the river Clyde. It is a rugged area with many lochs and islands. There are so many estuaries and islands that it is said Argyllshire has a much longer coast than the distance across the Atlantic. One loch is called Loch Melfort and at the closed end of it is Kilmelfort. That is where the branch of the Campbells originated, from which our Campbell came. In the library of the British Museum there is a book about the Campbells of Melfort which gives their history. Our Campbell was born too late to appear in it but there is no doubt that is where his ancestors came from. Hence the name Melfort.

References to Adair Campbell appear in several books written about the Pioneers. There are references to him in Leonard's *How We Made Rhodesia,* in Selous' *Travels and Adventures in South East Africa,* in Frank Johnson's *Great Days,* in Adrian Darter's *Pioneers of Mashonaland,* and in Skipper Hoste's diary. Campbell is described as a debonair Scotsman, a fair complexioned



Alderman Tony Tanser delivering his talk at Melfort Siding in the company of Mr. M. J. Kimberley, National Chairman.

(Photo: courtesy Sunday Mail)

man with beautifully tattoed forearms. Leonard damns him with faint praise. He describes him as a many sided individual with too much side on, very given to writing flowery effusions about himself to his friends. One letter written by him read — "I am orderly officer today and am again tomorrow, but I don't mind for my heart is in my work." This letter was published locally in Scotland. In due course a copy of the paper got back to Mashonaland. Campbell had his leg pulled by the officers and particularly by Lieutenant Roach who had the biggest feet of anyone in the Column. Attempting to get his own back Campbell said to Roach, "what bloody big feet you have old chap. Do you have a special size of boots?" "Yes", replied Roach. "I take thirteens. But there's not just my feet in them. My heart is also in my boots."

Campbell was proud of his horsemanship but his reputation was marred when he was unseated before a large number of the Pioneers. Despite this he seems to have been a good officer because he was put in charge, on two occasions, of troops sent on different expeditions by the B.S.A. Company.

Bromley is the name of the Dower-house built by the Campbells at Tulliechewan. There is some doubt whether it should be Bromley or Broomley. I have been advised by Engineer McCoran Campbell, now living in Salisbury, the grandson of Adair Campbell's older brother, that by Scotsmen, Bromley is pronounced Broomley. As presumably Adair himself would talk about Broomley while others talked of Bromley, it seemed that the idea developed that there were two places and not just one.

A lady who lives at Balloch in the vale of Leven, where Bromley and the castle of Tulliechewan are situated, has told me that the Dower-house, Bromley, lost its original purpose in, or about, 1920 and became a training school for nurses. Later, extensions were made to convert the school into a hospital and it was so for many years. The building was however demolished at the end of last year. Tulliechewan Castle, regretfully, has met the same fate.

Students of history all know that although the Pioneers had been promised farms a doubt arose about the Rudd Concession possessing surface rights. To meet the difficulty, farm boundaries to enclose about 300 acres were marked out, but were not transferable. Later they were properly surveyed. Names were given to farms before final survey was made. Two of the farms transferred to Campbell had their names changed. The farm, Romford, was changed to Tulliechewan, and Thornwald to Inversnaid. Inversnaid is a village on the side of Loch Lomond north of Ben Lomond.

Campbell did not pay much for his farms. Inversnaid, the smallest, cost him £1, Tulliechewan and Dana both £1 12s., Fordyce £1 16s. and Matopi, the largest, £1 ,80s. The five farms totalled in area just over 20 000 acres, for a total outlay of £7 8s. The Campbell territory stretched from about two miles before reaching the Jamaica Inn to the crossing of the Mesitkwe river shortly after leaving the Melfort siding.

Two kind farmers, Dick Deary and Barney Taylor (Barney so called because he was born in a tobacco barn), took me all round the Bromley area to find the houses, or at least the sites of the two houses, Tulliechewan and Bromley, that Campbell built. His Salisbury relative tells me that he stayed in Mashonaland and took part in the Matabele war and the Rebellions. Regretfully we were unable to find the original buildings. In the Brochure you will find a sketch taken from *Raiders and Rebels* by Elsa Green. Mr. Deary took me to a kopje with rock formations much like those in the sketch and I am hopeful that the kopje will be found to be the one where poor Graham had his store.

As I have said in the Brochure it is one of the quirks of history that two men, Campbell and Graham, on either side of the Mesitkwe, should have had connections with a Bromley. Next time you are about to pass through Bromley go to the post office. Behind it you will see a regular line of big trees. These were planted by the police when the police post was moved from the old Bromley, not far from the Jamaica Inn, to its present position. While there, notice a little building not far from the road. It has several rounded arches. That was the first and last Bromley school.

As you pass through Bromley you will see a small building on the left hand side of the track. That was where the Bromley Farmers' Association held its meetings. On the right hand side, behind the cattle pens, are the foundations of another store hidden in deep long grass. This may well have been White's store but I am not able to confirm this.

Not far from Bromley is the farm Brookmead. This farm was transferred in August 1893 to Martha Alice Deary, married out of community of property to Harry Deary, the second Mayor of Salisbury. Mrs. Deary, a most beautiful lady, was Salisbury's first Mayoress.

Again in the Brochure there is a reference to the three ex-policemen who opened the Ruzawi outspan outside the present Marandellas. Two of these men, Edwin Head and John Moore, were the first owners of the Dunstan Estate. This was one of the farms in which the Campbell and Condon Syndicate was interested, but, for a while they did not obtain transfer. The estate was 16 300 acres and cost the policemen £15 8s.

I regret I have not time to tell you more of the story of Graham and of White and of their trading at the store called The Homestead. Many of the outspan traders were rogues who took advantage of the travellers, offering poor accommodation and unsatisfactory meals and service. The Homestead was famous on the Marandellas route for its good hostelry both for man and beast.

It was on this Marandellas road, four miles from The Homestead, that James Grady, his wife and child, and the farmer Mackenzie were murdered by Zulu Jim. The leader of Grady's oxen made his way to the store to report the murders and Graham set out to ride the twenty five miles to give information to the police. Zulu Jim was hanged in Cecil Square. The story of Count de la

More passengers in period dress.
(*Photo: courtesy The Herald*)

Panouse and his party's nightmare journey to Salisbury in the Rebellion is told in detail by John Buchan in his book *A Book of Escapes and Hurried Journeys.* In the B.S.A. Company's report on the Native Disturbances there is more detail given by a Miss Carter who was one of the party.

(Since the train journey Mr. Tanser has received further information from his Scottish friend at Balloch and it is worth adding it here to complete the history of the Campbells connected with Rhodesia:

One of the Campbells of Melfort, according to tradition, having killed his opponent in a duel, fled to Menteith in Perthshire. Here he assumed the name of McOran. This happened about 1660. *He and his descendants farmed at Menteith using the name McOran. About* 1805 *the children, eight of them, reverted to the name of Campbell again.*

One of these, William, became the 1st Laird of Tulliechewan in 1843. *His son, James, was the 2nd Laird. He had two sons, William McOran Campbell and James Adair Campbell. For some reason the two sons became joint 3rd Lairds of Tulliechewan.*

It was James Adair Campbell who came with the Pioneer Column.

This information is from the Campbell family tree provided by the Information Librarian of the Dumbarton District Library.

Adair Campbell's father became a wealthy business man. He was offered and refused a knighthood.

In the Book of Dumbartonshire *by Joseph Irving the spelling of Tulliechewan is Tilliechewan. A sister of Adair, Eliza, married George Gildea and lived at Bromley.*

The name Bromley is spelled with one '0' but pronounced Broomley.

The only part of Tulliechewan Castle still standing is the old entrance, an archway where the old stables were, now converted into a dwelling house, and an old tower part of the original building. Tulliechewan Castle was designed by John (or James) Lurgan at the end of the eighteenth century for John Stirling. He got the land from the main landowner Colquhoun of Luss. The Colquhoun family is the one from which Archibald Colquhoun, who accompanied the Pioneer Column, came.)

THE EARLY HISTORY OF MARANDELLAS

by

SENATOR N. J. BRENDON, I.C.D.

(This is a much abbreviated version of Senator Brendon's very full and interesting talk. — Editor.)

The Senator began by saying that he is proud to have served in the old Native Department under the late Archie Cripwell, one of the founders of the Rhodesiana Society and that he had known the Marandellas district for over forty years.

The story of Marandellas probably began almost two centuries ago. At that time the numerous pastoral clans, which we loosely refer to as "The Mashona", inhabited these highveld regions. They were a disunited people and they fell easy prey to the more aggressive tribes, such as the Ndebele. Before the coming of the Ndebele however, the Rozwi invaded this country, lorded it over the clans and granted themselves the right to appoint the Shona chieftains.

Now at this time a man named Chimini lived at Nyameni, about two or three kilometres from where we are now assembled. His village was raided by a Rozwi impi and amongst other valuables, they stole Chimini's favourite wife. When he found that she had gone Chimini set off and followed the tracks of the impi to their faraway stronghold in what is now Matabeleland, and on arrival he had the gall to confront the Rozwi king and demand the return of his wife. One can imagine the danger of such a confrontation. It surpassed the many dangers which Chimini must have faced on his long journey through hostile country — but the king was so impressed by Chimini's daring that he handed back his wife and bestowed a new name upon him as well. The name was "Murondera" — The one who follows!

At first glance this name signifies little, but I believe that it was a praise-name awarded in recognition of Chimini's fearlessness and his tenacity of

purpose — a name to be proud of. The coming of the European, some decades later, found a chief Murondera residing at Nyameni still, and it was then that the name, like so many others in this country, was mispronounced by the newcomers and became 'Marandellas'. Today Murondera's village is situated in the Chiota T.T.L., not many miles away.

In his book, *A Nobody in Mashonaland,* C. E. Finlason tells of a visit to Murondera's village when journeying from Salisbury to Urntali. His recording of the name is 'Moretella' — another example of mispronounciation. Finlason records that the old chief had "a good deal of natural dignity but no clothes".

The first European resident of Marandellas was a gentleman named Bottomley. Mr. Bottomley's claim to this honour, which he shares with two other gentlemen, arose in this manner. Mr. Rhodes had come to the conclusion that the quickest route from Cape Town to Salisbury did not lie along the line of rail which was slowly winding its way up country from Kimberley, but rather across Mozambique from the Pungwe to Umtali, and thence along the watershed to its destination.

He decided to encourage the use of this route and in order to make the long road from Umtali to Salisbury a little more attractive he offered a grant of twenty acres to anyone willing to establish a coach stop and provide shelter and refreshment to anyone using the road. The situation of the twenty acres was not specified.

Three men. Corporal David Bottomley and Troopers Edwin Moore and John Head of the B.S.A. Company Police, who had accompanied the Column in 1890, took their discharge from the Force and obtained from Mr. Rhodes the twenty acres which he had promised. They chose for themselves a site on the high ground east of the Ruzawi River where the road from Fort Charter joined the road from Umtali, and they set up their hotel in some pole and dagga huts which became known as the Ruzawi Outspan. It is on this site that Ruzawi School stands today. They did not stay long however, and soon went their merry ways having sold their inn to Messrs. Symington and Robertson, who operated a coach service between Umtali and Salisbury.

Because of its situation at the junction of the roads it soon became an important place, and an administrative centre known as Marandellas and consisting of a rambling collection of brick buildings spread over several acres, grew up around the outspan. In 1892 a Police Post was established, to be followed by a Native Commissioner's office in 1894. In 1896 when the Mashona Rebellion broke out the hotel was being run by a Mr. Sam Dalton. Marandellas was a particular centre of rebellion as Chief Mangwende lived not far away and his people were subverted to the last man.

The Mashona Rising of 1896 was not a spontaneous affair but came as the result of many weeks — even months — of intrigue and planning.

Senator Brendon then gave a most graphic account of the tragic and courageous incidents that took place during the Rebellion in and around Maran-

dellas — history that has been related in the pages of Rhodesiana *and elsewhere. The escape of nine men and a Mrs. Van der Spuy from the outspan at Ruzawi in a galloping mule wagon, spurred on by rebel gunfire, is particularly vivid. Among the men who escaped was the well known Native Commissioner "Wiri" Edwards and Herbert Morris who was then farming at Springvale with his brother Ernest. The Senator writes — "Ernest Morris was the father of the great Rhodesian, Stan Morris, one time Chief Native Commissioner and until recently, a member of the Senate where he was held in the highest esteem." Senator Brendon goes on:*

Marandellas was deserted. No White man remained in the area. But this was not for long for on 29th July a column of one hundred rough, tough volunteers under the command of Major C. N. Watts arrived at Marandellas. They had escorted a wagon train of supplies from Matabeleland to Fort Charter and they then moved along the rough and thorny road to Marandellas looting and burning kraals as they went. On one foray they discovered the remains of Captain Harry Bremner at Mendamu and Major Watts recorded, "Before leaving Mendamu we buried poor Bremner in front of the house as decently as was possible under the circumstances."

There were two more important fights in the Marandellas area before the Rebellion ended. These were at Gatsi's caves and Chiwari's caves. Senator Brendon goes on:

The Rebellion had been quelled and things were returning to normal. Ernest Morris of Springvale had been appointed as Native Commissioner of the District and the good work which he did in restoring law and order is well

Councillor N. G. Eades, Mayor of Marandellas, giving his address to members of the Society.
(Photo: courtesy The Herald)

known. It was at this time that the railway line from Umtali to Salisbury had been surveyed and it was planned to take it through the little settlement of Marandellas which surrounded the Ruzawi outspan. Sir Charles Metcalfe, a consulting engineer, and Mr. Coryndon, Rhodes' Secretary, passed through Marandellas and stopped for a chat with Morris. It was then that Morris drew their attention to the fact that, in his opinion, the route of the railway had been badly planned. He pointed out that between Headlands and Marandellas some forty bridges would be required, whereas only one would be needed if the line followed the watershed. Two weeks later Mr. Morris received a telegraphed message from the Railways' Surveyor, Mr. Mansergh, advising him that the line would be re-sited in accordance with his advice. Afterwards Mr. Mansergh said to Mr. Morris, "Thank you. I've got a daisy of a line now."

With the realignment of the Railway the administrative centre of Marandellas was moved from Ruzawi to its present site, but the old hotel remained at the Ruzawi Outspan. Somewhere about 1903, after the village had moved, an enterprising Mr. Finch bought the hotel, renamed it "The Ruzawi Inn" and established what he was pleased to term a 'pleasure resort'. I find it of great personal interest that my mother and father spent their honeymoon there.

In 1928 two young men, the Reverend Robert Grinham — who is still a well loved and highly respected citizen of this district — and Maurice Carver opened our present Ruzawi School using the buildings of the old Ruzawi Inn. One can imagine the task that confronted them and it is not surprising that they had little time to devote to the old graves until 1936. These had been left unkempt and uncared for until Canon Grinham and Mr. Carver turned their attention to them in 1936 and laid out the little cemetery as it is today.

There are fifteen iron crosses and three marble memorials in the old graveyard but because of the understandable laxity in the keeping of records in those far off days we cannot be certain about who is actually buried there, and while it is generally assumed that each cross represents one individual who lies there, it is possible that some may commemorate individuals or families who were killed and buried elsewhere. The majority, however, represent people actually buried there. Who were they? There are in fact three lists of names, the first of which is to be found in the Ruzawi School records — and which actually consists of two lists which are substantially the same but which differ with regard to initials and spelling. There are 19 names for 18 graves.

The second list is one prepared by the Loyal Womens' Guild ten years after the end of the Rebellion and this consists of 17 names, each of which appears on the Ruzawi Roll. The third list is that contained in the records of the British South Africa Company Police — and this indicates neither the date of compilation nor the sources of information. Having stated that there were fifteen unknown crosses the record later names seven people as being interred there. And so, while we can be certain of the identity of some who lie there we cannot be absolutely sure of the others. For example, the Ruzawi records show one of them to be Captain Harry Bremner of the 20th Hussars — yet Major Watts

reported burying his remains at Mendamu. There is no record of the body having been removed, yet this could well have happened. I maintain that, while it would be nice to know for certain who lies there in the peaceful surroundings of Ruzawi, it does not really matter, for all who lost their lives in the Rebellion have a place in our hearts today.

The District of Marandellas made progress after the Rebellion was over. Farms were settled when some of the larger ranches were cut up, and a book published in 1910 gives many illustrations of tobacco growing methods employed in this area. Apart from tobacco the district produced both maize and beef and in 1914 the first Agricultural Show was held. I wish we were able to boast that we have had one every year since then, for our shows take a lot of beating, but the first World War intervened.

His Worship the Mayor has given you a brief history of Local Government in the Town. In so far as the District is concerned, on 6th November, 1925, the Government established a Road Council. Towed graders, and scotchcarts drawn by spans of oxen constituted the Council's equipment, and both European and African employees camped by the roadside, or at the river drifts they were building. Today the District is served by a highly efficient and well organised Rural Council, a child of the old Road Council. How nice to think that, unlike the Municipal Council, it did not have a Sanitary Board as an ancestor!

I have dealt very briefly with the history of Marandellas up until 1928, and in dealing with the Rebellion I have only touched lightly upon some of the more interesting episodes. There were many acts of bravery: and hardship, such as we have never experienced, was the order of the day. Today, we have paid homage to the past.

THE RHODESIA FIELD FORCE AT MARANDELLAS. 1899-1900

by

G. H. TANSER

In October 1899, the Anglo-Boer War broke out. Towards the end of the year, the Imperial War Office, worried by the successes of the Boers against the British Army, looked at the map of Africa and decided the Republics should be attacked by an army from the north, from Rhodesia. The map showed a railway from Salisbury to the sea at Beira, a port.

The army, the 'Rhodesia Field Force', was composed of mounted volunteers from Australia and New Zealand, and of Territorials of the Yeomanry from Leicester, Hampshire, Dublin and Belfast. This conglomerate did not make a very good force.

A General had to be found. One, Sir Frederick Carrington, aged 58, was commanding Gibraltar. He had been a boxer and athlete in his youth, but he was now suffering from middle-age spread with so big a stomach that he was always improperly dressed. He was unable to fasten the two bottom buttons of his tunic.

No preparations could be made at Beira for Portugal was a neutral country. There were no docks. From Beira to Bamboo Creek, a distance of sixty miles, the railway was a two-foot gauge. From Bamboo Creek to Salisbury the railway had been widened so everything had to be transhipped from the smaller waggons at Bamboo Creek. The little engines were overloaded, the drivers often drunk and there were many derailments. Goods unloaded off the trucks were stolen.

The British and the Australian contingents began to arrive at the same time. There were no wharf facilities. Everything had to be loaded in lighters and then dumped on the shore. Some troops had tents: some had none. The British troops arrived wearing thick uniforms and woollen clothing. Their girl friends had knitted them woollen balaclava helmets and gloves.

There was no protection from the sun. Horses brought from the Argentine and central Europe suffered greatly. Large water blisters formed on their backs. The malarial mosquitoes were busy among the men. There was a shortage of water. Sanitary arrangements in Beira were non-existent and dysentry broke out.

To lessen the chaos at Beira the Leicesters were sent to the 23-mile peg where there was a water-tank, and some of the New Zealand contingent to Bamboo Creek. One of the 'fatigues' was to pour water on the hospital tents to keep the inmates cool. While food rotted at Beira those troops inland had to consume bully beef, bread and jam for every meal.

When some of the troops reached the camp area near Marandellas there was nothing ready for them. The Public Works Department began to put up some wood and iron buildings. Those who had tents used them: those who had not used lean-to corrugated iron sheets to make a shelter.

A disease called blue-tongue broke out among the horses and many died emitting high-pitched squeals as they did so.

From Beira, Carrington organised that guns and gunners should go forward quickly in order to take part in the attack on Mafeking. Zeederberg was given permission to collect all his mules and coaches at Marandellas ready to take the guns and gunners to Bulawayo.

The Mayor of Salisbury decided to spend some of the ratepayers' money by presenting Carrington with an illuminated scroll telling him what a fine general he was and what a fine army he had. The scroll was signed by five hundred people. On 28th May, 1900, within a fortnight of today's date seventy eight years ago, the Mayor and Mayoress with Councillors and their wives and the Town Clerk set off on a special train to go to Marandellas to deliver the

scroll. The party left at 9 o'clock and arrived at 12 o'clock in Marandellas, but someone had forgotten to tell Carrington, so there was no one to meet them. An officer was found who gave the visitors lunch and took them to the camp. They presented the address then the General merely said "goodbye", and the Mayoral party had to wait until 4 o'clock for the train to take them back.

The Rhodesia Field Force occupied the transit camp until August. Detachments were sent forward to Bulawayo as fast as transport could be arranged. Once across the Limpopo Kitchener called on Carrington to bring his army into action. He was ordered to relieve a small British force surrounded at a place called Elands River. As the Field Force approached the beseiged camp the Boer Commandos attacked. Carrington gave orders to retreat and burned his stores so that he could move more quickly.

So he was relieved of his command and returned to England. The Rhodesia Field Force was broken up and sections were transferred to other regiments. When Carrington reached England it was proposed he should be made a Baronet.

The final outcome of the presence of the Rhodesia Field Force at Marandellas was a mammoth sale of bargains of army equipment in the first Drill Hall in Salisbury. A thousand army great-coats were sold to one purchaser for £245. The buyer was so small that even the smallest great-coat would have been much too big for him.

There is a clasp 'Rhodesia' on the Queen's South African Medal. Not far from the Three Monkeys Inn in Marandellas in the veld is a small cemetery where those who died during the period of the camp are buried. From time to time bones of horses and bits of military equipment are found.

PROMINENT RHODESIAN PERSONALITIES

This book is an updated edition of an earlier volume that was entitled *Prominent African Personalities.*

It is still mainly a Who's Who of Africans but now with an interesting sprinkling of Europeans most of them from the industrial and financial sector. Very few European politicians are listed but there are entries from the academic, legal and artistic worlds. One or two of the European entries are unusually subjective for a Who's Who in that they express a viewpoint going beyond the normal objective confines of biographical detail.

It is an invaluable reference book for businessmen, writers and students and, indeed, for anyone interested in current affairs and personalities. It is published, in hard back, by Cover Publicity Services Ltd., Box 1437, Salisbury at $12.

Some Associated Exhibitions

In support of the Society's Jubilee Celebrations several national institutions and some societies mounted special exhibitions over the period to help commemorate the occasions. These were: The National Gallery, The National Archives, The Queen Victoria Museum, the Rhodesia Heraldry and Genealogical Society and the Mashonaland Photographic Society. Two competitions, an essay competition and an art competition, for High Schools were also arranged.

Reports follow below.

THE NATIONAL GALLERY — Rhodesian Art, 1953-1978

Mr. C. M. Till, Assistant Director, reports:

To commemorate and mark the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Rhodesiana Society, the National Gallery of Rhodesia mounted an exhibition of painting and sculpture.

The works were selected from the permanent collection and included examples from the earliest painting purchased by the National Gallery and examples of the beginnings of Shona sculpture through to the present day work of Rhodesian artists.

The paintings selected were very diversified depicting Rhodesian landscapes, historical events and abstract expressionist works.

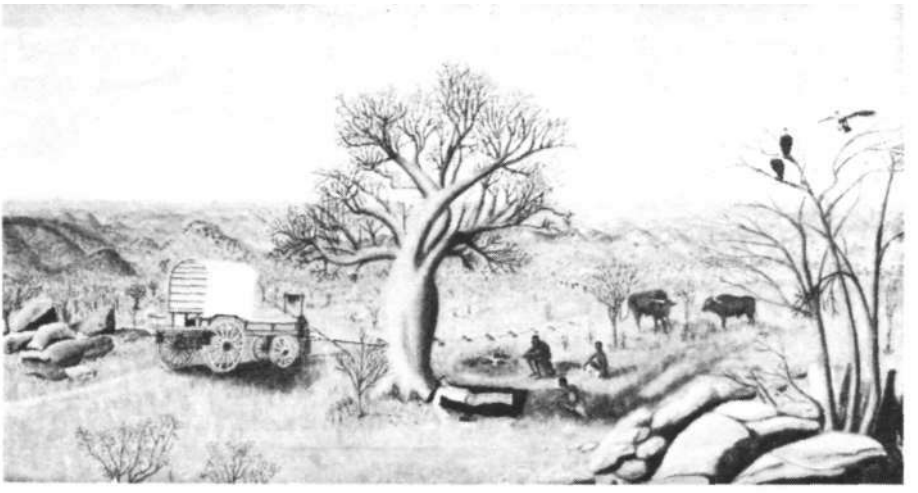
Rhodesian art has a long history and possibly its most illustrious painters were Thomas Baines and Alice Balfour, both of whom portrayed Rhodesia as they saw it. Baines, who never regarded himself as an artist but as an explorer, documented the dress and the way of life of the indigenous population as well as his companions.

Thomas Papenfus (1899-1969), examples of whose works were on exhibition, painted in a naive way and was influenced by the expanse of Rhodesia, aspects of its pioneer spirit and possibly to some extent the vision of Baines.

The illustration of his painting "Agaramogoro" (Vultures) shows the relatively undisturbed magnitude of the land as it was then, and in parts still remains. It depicts an incident during the days of the exploration of this country and shows, lying below a baobab tree, a hunter or explorer, possibly the victim of malaria with his servants gathered around him in a vigil. The vultures in the tree signify his impending death.

Papenfus, like Baines, has illustrated aspects of life as it was then.

It seems fitting that the National Gallery which celebrated its 21st year on 16th July should have been included in the Rhodesiana Society's Jubilee cele-



AGARAMAGORO. **Oil/canvas. By T. N. Papenfus, 1961.**
(Photo: The National Gallery)

brations by presenting an exhibition from the National Gallery's collection which is part of the cultural heritage of Rhodesia, and which illustrated a segment of the cultural growth in this country.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES — An exhibition of Rare Books

Mr. C. Coggin, Assistant Director, reports:

The exhibition of rare books in the Beit Trust Gallery of the National Archives formed part of the programme of activities in connection with **the** Society's 25th year. It also served the purpose of drawing attention to some of the treasures of the Library which are stored under conditions of closed access and cannot therefore be readily appreciated by the general public.

In this exhibition an attempt has been made to display a portion of **a** unique collection. The policy of the Library has been to acquire a copy of all publications relating to Rhodesia. The earliest work in the Library, exhibited here, is de Goes' *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* (Lisbon 1566), dating from a little over a century after the introduction of printing by movable type. It relates to Portuguese exploration around the Indian Ocean and has some account, albeit hearsay, of the Monomatapa's Zimbabwe, not, we are told, the Great Zimbabwe Ruins but another place to the north of Sipolilo. There are other Portuguee accounts here, such as the historian Manuel de Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa* (1666); Ramusio's *Delle Navigatione et Viaggi* (1613), a Venetian collection of travel literature showing a map of Africa as viewed from Venice, the centre of the world; and *Vita Patris Gonzali Sylveriae* ... (The life of Fr. Goncalo da Silveira . . . martyred in the Monomatapa's town) (1612) a Jesuit hagiography in Latin.

There are examples of the splendid colour-plate books of the early 19th century. Daniell's *African scenery* (1804-5) illustrates some of the finest pictures of the Botswana in existence; Alberti's *De Kaffirs aan de Zuidkust van Africa* (Amsterdam, 1810) portrays events in South Africa during the time of the Batavian Republic; and there is a volume of tinted lithographs by Thomas Bowler, *Pictorial Album of Cape Town* (1866). Well known for his important book of travels as far north as the Limpopo is Capt. W. Cornwallis Harris, who in *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa* (3rd ed., 1844) was the first to describe the sable antelope.

Other valuable and rare items of southern Africana include Thomas Herbert's *A Relation of Some Years Travaile* (London, 1634) containing one of the first English accounts of the Cape, and Kolben's *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope* (English ed., 1731), in which was published the earliest list of southern African mammals. An account of the most picturesque of travellers — enthusiastic, vain and unreliable — was published in France as *Voyage de M. Le Vaillant dans l'Interieur de Afrique* (1790). Burchell's *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, a valuable and accurate work, is in evidence, as are accounts by the scientifically inclined William Paterson, Sir John Barrow and Henry Lichtenstein.

Of closer regional relevance are works by Baines and Livingstone. The first is represented by, among others, his *Gold Regions of South Eastern Africa* (1877), containing the first trustworthy map of the interior on which were based all maps of Rhodesian territory for the next forty years. There is a first issue of the first edition of Livingstone's *Missionary Travels* (1857); and a copy of Robert Moffat's *Missionary Labours* (1842), a book published before his arrival at Inyati. *African Hunting and Adventure from Natal to the Zambesi* (1863) by W. C. Baldwin is represented by Selous' copy, which perhaps contributed to the great hunter's early enthusiasm for Africa.

There are some curious and ephemeral publications emanating from the country's earliest years. Evocative and appealing are A. Boggie's *From Ox-waggon to Railway* (Bulawayo, 1897), the earliest surviving Rhodesian publication; *A Nobody in Mashonaland* (1893) by C. Finlason; *Regulations for B.S.A. Company's Forces* (1890), inscribed "From Alan Wilson's Orderly Room . . ."; Rhodes' will; and *The Victoria Falls Waltz*, published in the early years of the century. A display of early Rhodesian newspapers includes *The Nugget*, produced in manuscript at Fort Victoria in 1890, an early copy of *The Rhodesia Herald* (1892) and its predecessor *The Mashonaland Herald*, Salisbury's first newspaper.

Among a number of splendid colour-illustrated books on the natural history of southern Africa are printed works from 1677 to 1956, including Burmann's *Rariorum Africanarum Plantarum* (Amsterdam, 1738), Smith's *Zoology* (1849) and *The Book of Antelopes* (1894-1900).

THE QUEEN VICTORIA MUSEUM — Rock Art and Iron Age Exhibition

Mrs. M. R. Izzett, Hon. Secretary of the Prehistory Society of Rhodesia, reports:

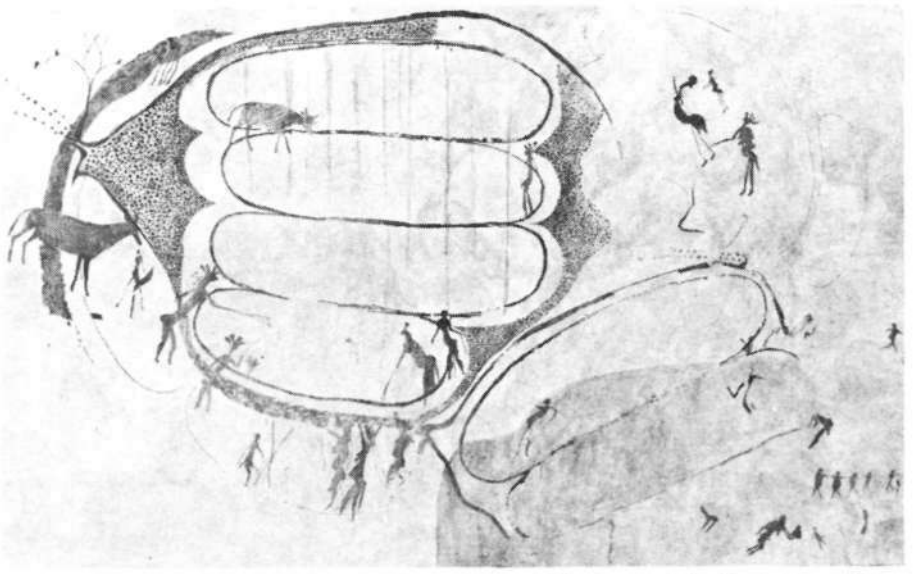
In support of the Rhodesiana Society's Silver Jubilee celebrations the Prehistory Society of Rhodesia mounted a small but informative exhibition on "Rock Art and the Iron Age in Rhodesia". This was held in the Queen Victoria Museum with the kind permission of the Director, and with assistance from his staff. The exhibition was on view for six weeks from the beginning of May.

In the Rock Art section two impressive reproductions of rock paintings were displayed. These were traced from the originals in actual size, and the larger, which measured 5,30 metres by 2,20 metres, was from the Darwendale area. It shows the common yet interesting feature of superimposition — where paintings have been worked on top of other paintings at different times. The more unusual feature of "pecking" of the rock where the paintings were done was to be seen in this painting. Here the Stone Age artist had, possibly for ceremonial reasons, chipped the paint away leaving a speckled effect on some of the animal figures. The second reproduction on display was taken from the Mazoe area. The site of this painting has become known as the Bat Shelter as the painting shows an extraordinary number of flying creatures which could possibly be bats.

Both these paintings were recorded and reproduced by Miss E. Coretti and Miss L. Adams, members of the Prehistory Society. The technique involved in producing these carefully executed reproductions was illustrated photographically in the exhibition.

The Iron Age began in Rhodesia about A.D. 200 with the arrival of people skilled in the working of iron. This section of the exhibition showed a portion of a conical-shaped furnace and a selection of iron tools and weapons from Iron Age times. Emphasis was, however, on examples of pottery styles, showing the sequence of changing pottery styles and decoration patterns which play such an important role in differentiating the various periods of the Iron Age.

Members of the Prehistory Society are currently locating and recording rock painting sites for the Museum. This work, which has now been in progress for nearly three years, has demonstrated very clearly, in the number of hitherto unknown sites found, what a wonderful heritage we have in Rhodesia in our rock art. The long-term result of this work will, it is hoped, result in some understanding of the paintings on the rocks.



Copy of the 5-metre frieze on Kentucky Farm, Darwendale, shown at the Rock Art and Iron Age Exhibition.
(Photo: Prehistory Society of Rhodesia)

General view of the pottery sequence displayed at the Rock Art and Iron Age Exhibition.
(Photo: Prehistory Society of Rhodesia)

RHODESIA HERALDRY AND GENEALOGY SOCIETY

— An Exhibition of Coat Armour and Genealogies

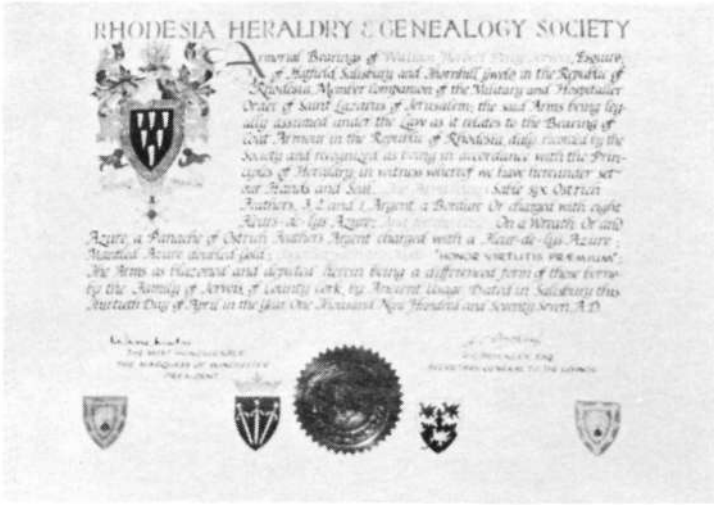
J. G. Storry reports:

In common with other societies in Salisbury, the Salisbury Branch of the Rhodesia Heraldry and Genealogy Society, under the auspices of the National Gallery of Rhodesia, held an exhibition to coincide with the Society's Silver Jubilee Celebrations. As this exhibition was staged at the suggestion of this Society's National Executive Committee, the R.H.G.S. deserves our thanks for so readily acceding to the suggestion, and going on to make such a worth-while exhibition.

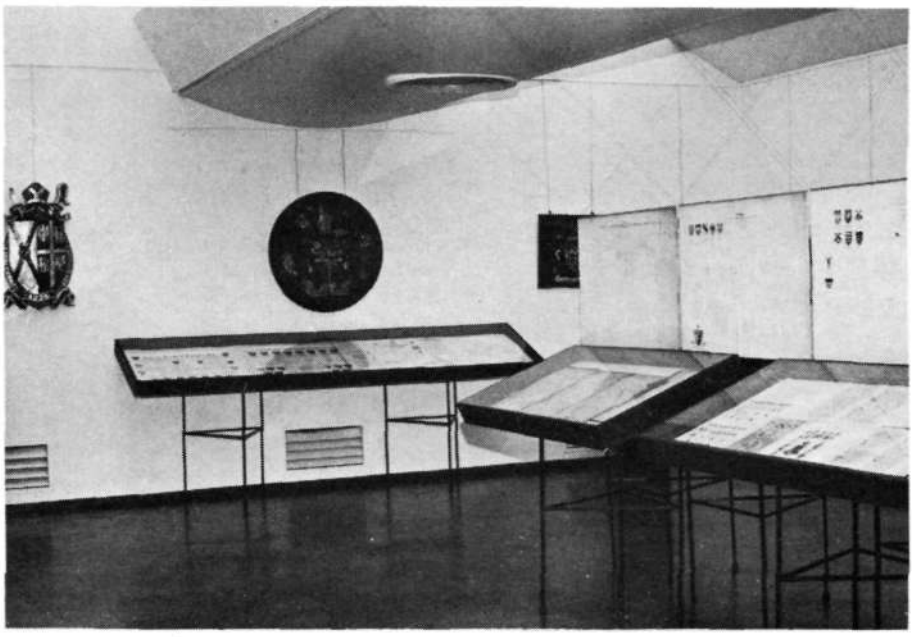
This is the third public exhibition the Salisbury Branch of the R.H.G.S. has staged since the foundation of the society in 1970 and, once again, this viewer was left with the clear impression that although heraldry and genealogy are somewhat specialised subjects attracting their own expertise and devotees, they have, nevertheless, rather more popular appeal in Rhodesia than is generally realised.

Heraldry, so it is said, provides the footnotes to history. In a family's coat of arms may be read its origins, achievements and affiliations, and, sometimes, its failings and possessions. All of which could be found in the individual exhibits on show. In the carving of impaled arms, more familiar to visitors as a decoration on the balcony of the Dioscesan offices in Union Avenue, could be seen the record that Paget was once Lord Bishop of Mashonaland. Letters Patent of a grant of arms, showing as the crest a fox guttée, disclosed that A. Harris, Esq. and his descendants count amongst their ancestors that Samuel Fox who had the wit to invent the common or garden umbrella. There were many more historical pointers: a set of huge panels traced a full heraldic pedigree, the arms of the City of Salisbury clearly betrayed the capital's origins and purpose, the quartered shield of Ramsay and Maul was a reminder of the connection between Rhodesia and the Earls of Dalhousie. All in all, the general blend provided an excellent display of Rhodesian social and political history: the former in the origins of this country's settlers, the most striking example of which was probably the Letters Patent of Knighthood with accompanying grant of arms, awarded in 1917 to De Sathmary by Charles V, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary (the father of Archduke Otto von Hapsburg, a good friend of, and frequent visitor to Rhodesia), the latter in the exhibits manifesting a colonial past, such as the large carving of the Royal Arms, and the obvious heraldic expertise of those who have assumed the responsibility of ensuring that the science of heraldry flourishes in fledgling independence.

It is this last factor for which the R.H.G.S. is to be so warmly praised. The enthusiasm of its members and the high standards they maintain were evident throughout the exhibition. As may be seen by a comparison of the certificate of armorial authenticity issued by the society with the Letters Patent of the grant


RHODESIA HERALDRY & GENEALOGY SOCIETY

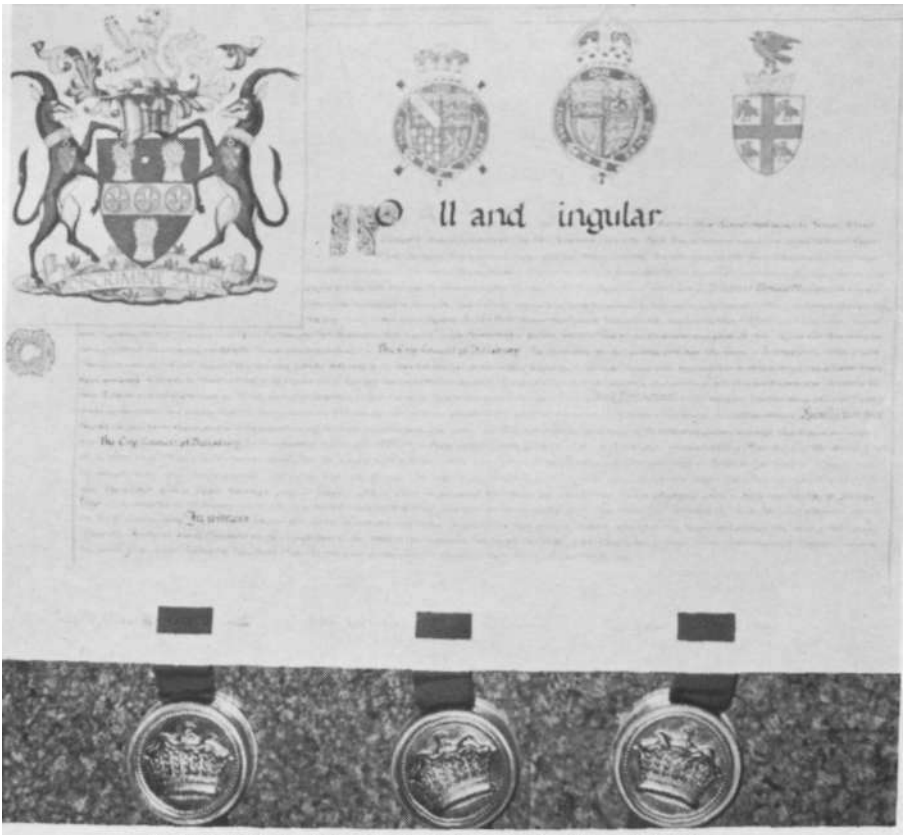
Society's Certificate of Authenticity of the Arms of William Jervois.



A corner of the exhibition put on by the Salisbury Branch of the Rhodesia Heraldry and Genealogy Society.

issued by the Kings of Arms, the standard of heraldic draughtsmanship in Rhodesia is notably high.

It is a truism that a people should not deny their history. From this exhibition, it is clear that the Rhodesia Heraldry and Genealogy Society, at any rate, are taking steps to see this does not happen here.



Letters Patent of the Grant of Arms to the City of Salisbury.

THE MASHONALAND PHOTOGRAPHIC SOCIETY

Mr. C. Macrides reports:

The Mashonaland Photographic Society organised a competition during the Rhodesiana Jubilee Celebrations. The theme was on old historic buildings.

Judging was done by Mr. Paul Atwell, a professional photographer, the late Hon. A. R. W. Stumbles, who was President of the National Historical Association at the time, and Miss Odette Enslin, an art teacher.

There was a total of 53 enties from ten competitors. The entries varied in size from 5 inches by 7 inches to 20 inches by 16 inches with a fairly high all

round standard of photography. Many of the larger prints had a great deal of impact on first sight but when it came down to the details of examination they unfortunately did not convey what the judges were looking for. Judging was done on a very strict basis and all pictures were commented on by the judges thus giving an interesting cross section of views and opinions.

The First Prize went to Mr. C. Macrides for a print done in light sepia of a photograph of an old building, "British Clothing Factory" in Salisbury Street. *(Photograph reproduced here. — Editor.).* Second Prize went to Messrs. Proserpio and Beers for a print of the Standard Bank in Manica Road. Third Prize went to Mr. J. Gay for a print of Store Bros, building in Manica Road.

The First Prize photograph by C. Macrides in the Mashonaland Photographic Society's Competition.

ESSAY AND ART COMPETITIONS FOR HIGH SCHOOLS

G. H. Tanser reports on both competitions:

As part of the 25th Jubilee Celebrations of the Rhodesiana Society, it was decided by the National Committee that the younger people should be encouraged to play a part. Accordingly an Essay Competition and an Art Competition for pupils of High and Secondary Schools were organised.

The Essay Competition

The Rhodesiana Society donated $50 as prize money for the Essay Competition. When a request was made to the National Historical Association for its support, the Chairman (the Hon. A. R. Stumbles) agreed to refer the matter

to his Committee. The Association most generously offered to donate $50 as prizes. This enabled the competition to be divided into two sections, one for pupils in the 'A' and 'M' Level classes, the other for those in the 'O' Level classes.

The Ministry of Education showed its interest by permitting details of the competition to be circulated to all High and Secondary Schools.

The response from the schools was very disappointing. Only seven pupils in the higher group, from four schools, Eveline, Fletcher, Plumtree and Mzilikazi, submitted essays. The standard of work was generally high. The wide scope of the subject "Any aspect of Rhodesian history prior to 1953", gave the writers ample opportunity to express themselves on their favourite topic. Having selected their title they treated their subject matter fairly objectively with arguments reasonably well developed. From the few essays submitted it is clear there is a sound knowledge of Rhodesia's problems, difficulties and successes, among those who are studying history.

The judges awarded the first prize, $25, to Samuel Nyashana of Fletcher High School. His subject asked the question, "How far is it true that land policy", followed in Rhodesia between 1914 and 1930. "was in the interest of both races?"

The second prize, $15, went to Victor Chiwome also of Fletcher High School. His essay was on "The Issue of Native African Labour in the Charter Company Period".

Debra Janet Hart of Eveline High School wrote on "The Opening of the Lowveld". She was awarded the third prize, $10.

The 'O' Level Section of the Competition attracted 34 entrants, but. regretfully they came from only six schools, five African and one European.

The subjects chosen covered a wide range of Rhodesia's history. The best essays were well expressed, detailed and logical, but even those which received a lower marking indicated an awareness of policies and events.

The best essay submitted was that of Elizabeth Bonga of Mabvuku Secondary School. Elizabeth wrote on "African and European Education in Rhodesia before 1953".

The second prize was awarded to Abedinigo Vowa for his essay on "The Shona and Ndebele Rebellions". Abedinigo is a pupil of Mpopoma Secondary School.

Jane Enison of Mabvuku Secondary School won the third prize for her essay on "Southern Rhodesia under Company Rule".

The National Chairman and Committee wish to thank all the entrants and the schools from which they came for their interest, and congratulate the winners and their teachers for the good work shown by the essays submitted.

The Art Competition

The National Committee of the Rhodesiana Society was highly delighted when Messrs. Sanders (Pvt.) Ltd., of First Street, Salisbury, most generously agreed to sponsor the Art Competition and to donate the sum of $150, to be divided into $50 for each section, as prizes.

The Co-Minister of Education, Mr. Rowan Cronje, and Mrs. Cronje study a painting of F. C. Selous at the opening of the High Schools Art Competition.
(Photo: courtesy The Herald)

The three sections, into which the competition was divided, were designed to give entrants the widest possible scope for their artistic talents.

Class A called for a study, in any colour medium, of a person or persons, in costume or uniform, worn in Rhodesia prior to 1953.

Class B asked for an illustration, in any colour medium, of any incident in Rhodesia's history which occurred before 1953.

Class C sought for an illustration, in black or white, of a building or buildings, ancient or modern, which played a part in Rhodesia's history, prior to 1953.

Despite the generous prizes offered, first $25; second, $15; third, $10, the response to the circulars kindly sent out by the Ministry of Education to all

High or Secondary Schools was, in relation to the number of schools notified, disappointing.

In Class A entries were submitted from only nine schools, and of the 45 studies nearly half of the number came from two of the schools. Despite the small number there were some very pleasing pictures. The five judges found it difficult to decide the winners.

The final awards were made to — first, Kim Robinson of Roosevelt Girls' High School; second, Karen Romans, also of Roosevelt; third, Michelle Dean of the Dominican Convent High School, Salisbury. The picture by Dierdre Smith was Highly Commended.

For the Second Section 32 entries were submitted. The subject; "A Rhodesian historical incident", gave scope for the imagination of the artists. The pictures awarded the prizes and those Highly Commended were of very considerable merit.

The winner was Brigid McNamara of Roosevelt Girls' High School; second was R. Kerwin of Lord Malvern High School and third, Janet Beale of Girls' High School, Salisbury. Highly Commended were Manuela Gurreiro, Sara Freeman and Gayda Huis, all of Roosevelt Girls' High School.

The Third Section of the competition was the least popular. There were only twelve entries. The prizewinners were, first, Marina Heathcote; second, Kathy Perkiss, both of Roosevelt and third, Jane Morrison from Thornhill High School, Gwelo. Filitsa Dellas of the Girls' High School, Salisbury was Highly Commended.

Under the direction of Mr. Bernard, Managing Director of Messrs. Sanders, a wide selection of the pictures was arranged as an exhibition on the second floor of the premises of Messrs. Sanders in First Street, Salisbury.

Mrs. Janet Smith, wife of the Prime Minister, had very graciously agreed to open the Exhibition and to present the prizes to the winning competitors. A large number of people gathered for the opening. They were very impressed with the work of the pupils. Among other distinguished guests were the Hon. Rowan Cronje, who had just been appointed co-Minister of Education, and Mrs. Cronje.

There was a steady stream of visitors to the Exhibition until it was dismantled a fortnight after the opening.

The National Chairman and his Committee would like to thank Mrs. Janet Smith for her attendance at, and her interest in the Exhibition. The generosity and sponsorship of Messrs. Sanders, and the enthusiasm of Mr. Bernard were greatly appreciated. Congratulations are offered to all the winners and to those who participated in the competitions.

Office Bearers in The Rhodesiana Society 1953 to 1978

compiled by Michael J. Kimberley

National Chairmen

1953-1970	H. A. Cripwell	1975-1977	R. W. S. Turner
1970-1973	A.S.Hickman	1977-	M. J. Kimberley
1973-1975	G. H. Tanser		

National Deputy Chairmen

1969-1970	A.S.Hickman	1975-1977	M. J. Kimberley
1970-1973	G. H. Tanser	1977-	R. W. S. Turner
1973-1975	R. W. S. Turner		

National Honorary Secretaries

1953-1955	B. W. Lloyd	1961-1962	Mrs. P. Haddon
1955-1956	J. M. van Heerden	1962-1972	M. J. Kimberley
1957-1958	G. B. da Graca	1972-1976	C. W. H. Loades
1959-1960	H. J. Mason	1976-	J. G. Storry
1960-	J. L. P. Garrett		

National Honorary Treasurers

1953-1955	B. W. Lloyd	1968-1969	F. A. Staunton
1955-1956	J. M. van Heerden		Miss C. von Memerty
1957-1958	G. B. da Graca		M. J. Kimberley
1959-1960	H. J. Ma on	1970-1978	S. A. Rowe and Partners
1960-1961	J. L. P. Garrett		Dove Cowper and Lefevre
1961-1962	W.Mills		Moss. Dove and Company
1962-1967	M. J. Kimberley		

Editors of Rhodesiana (1956 to 1978)

No. 1	**J.** M. van Heerden	No. 6	W. F. Rea
No. 2	G. H. Tanser	No. 7	H. A. Cripwell
No. 3	G. H. Tanser	No. 8	J. Drew
No. 4	B. W. Lloyd	Nos. 9 to 17	E. E. Burke
No. 5	H. A. Cripwell	Nos. 18 to 38	W. V. Brelsford

A Note on The Rhodesiana Society's Gold Medals

by Michael J. Kimberley

The idea of awarding gold medals to appropriate persons was conceived by Mr. Robert Turner. He first put his proposals to the National Executive Committee in February 1969 when it was resolved that the matter be further investigated.

At its meeting in May 1969 the National Executive accepted Mr. Turner's proposals and appointed Messrs Turner, Howland and Kimberley to present a comprehensive report as soon as possible on a scheme which involved: (a) the sale to members every decade of bronze medals, each one numbered, and the purchaser's names being published in a medal roll and (b) the presentation annually of silver medals to any persons who had rendered outstanding service to the Society or to the study of Rhodesian history.

In April 1970 the National Executive Committee considered the sub-committee's report and adopted proposals involving the award of gold medals to persons who had made an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of The Rhodesiana Society, or made a major contribution to Rhodesian history. It was agreed that the number of gold medals to be awarded should be limited to a maximum of three in any one year and that the names of possible recipients should be submitted to the Medal Sub-committee which would make recommendations to the National Committee. It was understood that awards would not necessarily be made annually.

At the same meeting the Committee adopted the idea of producing 500 bronze medals, each numbered, every decade commencing in 1970, for sale to members of the Society, and authorised the printing of an appropriate brochure incorporating an order form. The dies for the gold and bronze medals and the medals themselves were made by Matthews Manufacturing Company, Engravers, Die-Sinkers, Badge manufacturers and medallists of Bulawayo. The gold medal has the name of the Society and the Society crest on the obverse and the year of the award and the name of the recipient on the reverse. The bronze decade medal also has the name and crest of the Society on the obverse: on the reverse the year 1970 and the number of the medal appear.

Various nominations were duly submitted and at its meeting on 26th January 1971 the National Executive Committee resolved that the Society's gold medal be awarded to the following persons for 1970 —

(1) **Harry Archie Cripwell:**

Posthumous award for an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of The Rhodesiana Society.

(2) **Colonel A. S. Hickman, M.B.E.:**
For an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of The Rhodesiana Society.

(3) **The Right Honourable the Viscount Malvern, P.C., C.H., K.C.M.G., LL.D.:**
Posthumous award for making a major contribution to Rhodesian history.

The medals were formally presented by the Honourable Sir Vincent Quenet, Judge President of Rhodesia, at a special ceremony held at the National Archives of Rhodesia in August 1971. In the case of the posthumous awards, the presentation was made to Mrs. G. Cripwell, the widow of Mr. Cripwell and to Lord Malvern, the eldest son of the Viscount Malvern.

At its meeting in May 1971 the National Executive discussed the concept of awarding gold medals posthumously and resolved to recommend to the next annual general meeting of members that awards should only be made to living persons. This recommendation was considered but not adopted at the annual meeting in March 1972.

At a National Executive Committee Meeting in March it was unanimously resolved that the 1972 gold medal awards be made to —

(1) **George Henry Tanser:**
For making an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society.

(2) **Oliver Neil Ransford:**
For making an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society.

The presentations were made by the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Honourable Lance Smith, I.D., M.P., at a special ceremony held at the National Archives of Rhodesia in August 1972.

At a meeting held in February 1975 the National Executive Committee resolved that gold medals be awarded for 1975 to —

(1) **Michael John Kimberley:**
For making an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society.

(2) **Harry Arthur Bertrand Simons:**
For making an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society.

The presentation of the medals was made by the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Honourable B. H. Musset, I.D., M.P., at a special ceremony held at the National Gallery of Rhodesia in October 1975.

At the annual general meeting of members held in March 1975 the following resolutions were adopted —

(a) that not more then one Rhodesiana Society Gold Medal shall be presented in any one year;

(b) that except in exceptional circumstances, a Rhodesiana Society Gold Medal shall only be awarded to a member of the Society.

Also in March 1975, the National Executive Committee reconstituted the Medal Sub-committee to consist of the National Chairman, the National Deputy Chairman, one member elected by the Matabeleland Branch of the Society and two members appointed by the National Executive Committee.

RHODESIAN HISTORY

Vol. 8, 1977 of this journal of the Central Africa Historical Association contains four articles. "Ruins and Traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi" by N. M. N. Ralushi and J. R. Gray; "The making of the Kimberley-Bulawayo Railway" by P. R. Maylam: "Ethnic Groups and the Qualified Franchise" by B. A. Kosmin; and "An Analysis of the Rhodesian Referendum, 1922" by M. Elaine Lee. There is a long note on "The Land Commission of 1894 and its membership" by P. Stigger, an Essay/Review on "Britain and Rhodesian Expansion", by H. I. Wetherell and other Notes, Reviews and Short Notices.

Published by the Department of History at the University of Rhodesia at $2,50.

The Rhodesiana Society Scholarship

By a resolution dated 1st July, 1978, of the National Executive Committee of the Rhodesiana Society, in order to commemorate the twenty-five years of the Society's existence, it was decided to establish a scholarship.

ESTABLISHMENT AND RULES OF THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY SCHOLARSHIP

Establishment

There is hereby established a scholarship, to be known as the RHODESIANA SOCIETY SCHOLARSHIP (hereinafter called the Scholarship), for the purposes and in terms of the conditions noted hereunder.

Rules

Interpretation of Terms

1. In these rules —

"amateur historian" means a person, other than an undergraduate who is studying history at a university, who is interested in the study of history as a pastime not connected with his ordinary occupation or the means whereby he makes his living;

"Committee" means the Scholarship Committee to be established in terms of rule 4;

"National Executive Committee" means the National Executive Committee of the Society;

"Rhodesian history" means the history of Rhodesia from its earliest documented time, including the commencement of Portuguese exploration ; "Society" means the Rhodesiana Society.

Nature and Tenure of the Scholarship

2. The Scholarship shall be constituted by the award, not more than once annually, in terms of these rules, of the sum of one hundred dollars ($100) or such greater sum as the National Executive Committee may from time to time determine, to an amateur historian, and shall be tenable for one year.

Purpose of the Scholarship

3. The purpose of the award of the Scholarship shall be to encourage and assist amateur historians to carry out research into aspects of Rhodesian history with the object of making a distinct contribution to the knowledge of such history.

Scholarship Committee

4. There shall be established a Scholarship Committee consisting of —
   (a) the National Honorary Chairman of the Society;
   (b) the National Honorary Deputy Chairman of the Society;
   (c) the National Honorary Secretary of the Society;
   (d) the Head of the Department of History at the University of Rhodesia;
   (e) the Director of the National Archives of Rhodesia;
   (f) such other person or persons as the National Executive Committee may decide.

Function of the Scholarship Committee

5. It shall be the function of the Committee to —
   (a) administer any money invested by the Society as a fund for the financing of the Scholarship;
   (b) advertise annually the award of the Scholarship and call for applications therefor;
   (c) receive and scrutinise such applications, and interview applicants for the Scholarship;
   (d) determine to which applicant the Scholarship should be awarded in any one year;
   (e) recommend to the National Executive Committee the award of the Scholarship to the applicant who, in the view of the majority of the members of the Committee, is most worthy of the award.

Determination of Applications

6. In determining whether an applicant should be awarded the Scholarship, the Committee shall have regard to —
   (a) the standing and character of the applicant;
   (b) the quality of any previous historical work published by the applicant, if any:

       Provided that the question of whether an applicant has or has not previously published any historical work shall not debar the applicant from receiving the award of the Scholarship;
   (c) the nature of the proposed historical research and the likely value thereof as a contribution to Rhodesian history;
   (d) any other factor which the Committee decides should form a proper criterion in relation to the award of the Scholarship.

Award of the Scholarship

7. (1) The National Executive Committee shall award the Scholarship to the applicant recommended to it by the Committee, unless, in the opinion of the majority of the members of the National Executive Committee, it would not be proper to accept such recommendation.

   (2) In the event of the National Executive Committee not accepting the recommendation of the Committee, the matter shall be referred back to the Committee for further consideration.

Eligibility

8. Subject to the provisions of rules 6 and 11, any amateur historian engaged in, or about to commence research into some aspect of Rhodesian history shall be eligible for the award of the Scholarship upon making application in writing to the Committee, submitting therewith —
   (a) the names and addresses of two persons who are not related to, but have known the applicant for a period of not less than three years, and who can testify to the character and standing of the applicant; and
   (b) a brief synopsis in narrative form of the research upon which the applicant is engaged, or proposes to engage, and the use to which it is intended to put the results thereof.

Conditions of the Scholarship

9. (1) Prior to the award of the Scholarship to the successful applicant, he shall undertake to produce a written record of such research, and —
   (a) where the results of his research are of booklength —
      (i) if a book incorporating the results of the research is published; or
      (ii) if no book incorporating the results of the research is published;
   that a copy of the book or a copy of the written record of his research, as the case may be, shall be lodged free of any charge in the National Archives; or
   (b) where the results of his research are contained in or consist of a dissertation or thesis of ten thousand words or less that he shall submit one copy thereof free of charge to the Society, which shall be free to make such use thereof as it deems fit.

   (2) It shall be a condition of the award of the Scholarship that any failure by a person to whom the Scholarship has been awarded to comply with the provisions of sub rule (1) within a reasonable time shall render him liable to repayment of the amount of the Scholarship to the Society.

Rights under the Scholarship

10. (1) Subject to the provisions of rule 9, an amateur historian to whom the Scholarship has been awarded may use the sum so received by him in any manner he deems fit, for the purpose of pursuing his research, without accounting for the expenditure thereof to the Society.

   (2) Upon receipt of the award of the Scholarship, the amateur historian to whom the Scholarship has been awarded may describe himself thereafter in any published or unpublished work with a primarily historical content, of which he is the author, compiler or editor, as a *Rhodesiana Society Scholar.*

Disqualification

11. The Scholarship shall not be awarded to any person on more than one occasion.

Amendment

12. The National Executive Committee may, from time to time, alter or add to these rules as it deems necessary or desirable.

THE SOCIETY'S BRONZE MEDAL

The Society's Bronze Medal was struck in 1970 for sale to members and their families only. The total number struck was only 500 and a few are still left for sale. Each one is unique as it has a different serial number. As well as being a personal souvenir of belonging to the Society the medal forms a good investment. (The word investment is used advisedly as a number of the medals have made their appearance on sales of Africana in Johannesburg.)

The medals are slightly larger and thicker than, a 25 cent piece and are in an attractive green velvet covered presentation case. The price, including the case. is $3,50.

The Annual General Meeting, 1978

The Annual General Meeting of Members of The Rhodesiana Society was held in the Leander Room, Jameson Hotel at 5.15 p.m. on Thursday 23rd March 1978.

Present: M. J. Kimberley (National Chairman) in the Chair, J. G. Storry (National Secretary) and 37 members of the Society.

The Chairman welcomed those in attendance.

The Secretary read the notice convening the meeting, and apologies from eight members including one from the President and Mrs. Wrathall.

Confirmation of the Minutes of the Previous Annual General Meeting

The Minutes of the previous Annual General Meeting had been printed in *Rhodesiana No. 37* and copies were available at the meeting. They were taken as read, confirmed by the meeting and signed by the Chairman. Proposed by Mr. Gale: Seconded by Mr. Burke.

There were no matters arising.

Chairman's Report

Report follows these minutes.

Arising: The Chairman explained that membership had dropped from 1 200 to 1 007. Mr. Playford explained, however, that the increased subscription meant that income remained static.

Balance Sheet

Spoken to by Mr. Playford, who explained that membership subscription had kept pace with rising printing costs. The accounts were adopted.

Election of Officers

CHAIRMAN: Mr. M. J. Kimberley was proposed by Mr. Gale and seconded by Mr. Burke. There being no further nomination, he was declared elected.

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. R. W. S. Turner was proposed by Mr. Burke and seconded by Mr. Gale. There being no further nominations, he was declared elected.

SECRETARY : Mr. J. G. Storry was proposed by Mr. Gale and seconded by Mr. Burke. There being no further nominations, he was declared elected.

MEMBERS: The following were duly proposed and seconded for the vacancies as Committee Members; W. V. Brelsford, E. E. Burke, R. Smith, W. E. Arnold, G. H. Tanser, C. W. S. Loades, J. Parson, Miss H. Jarvis.

Any Other Business

(a) Dr. O. Robertson raised the question of the print order of the journal and suggested that this should be reduced to save costs. The Chairman advised that this was continually under review by the National Committee and, in fact, had been reduced in recent years from 2 000 to 1 500. Further reductions would probably be introduced if necessary in the future.

(b) Mr. Turner referred to the present political climate and suggested that consideration should be given when necessary to a change in the name of the Society. He cited the example of the Malawi Society having changed its name at an appropriate time. This aroused considerable discussion among those present and in the event it was decided that should this become necessary, a special general meeting would be called to discuss any resolution. The meeting felt that this was not a necessary step at this time and some members would wish to take the opportunity to air their views on the subject before any decision was taken.

(c) The Chairman asked for volunteers to assist with the Silver Jubilee Celebrations and asked members willing to help to give their names and addresses to the Secretary after the meeting.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, M. J. KIMBERLEY, FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st MARCH, 1978

The Chairman thanked all those members who had served on the National Executive Committee during the year, particularly our Secretary, Editor and Assistant Editor.

Rhodesiana Journal

Two issues of the journal were published during the year. No. 36, an issue of 101 pages, appeared in April and No. 37, an issue of 91 pages, appeared in September. The continued publication of our well known journal on a biannual basis depends not only on finance and the industry of our Editor and Assistant Editor but on a continual supply of articles for publication. I appeal to members to put shoulder to the wheel on this aspect as this is the only way that we can reduce the number of notes and similar matters which are more appropriate for inclusion in a newsletter rather than a journal.

Your Committee has been a little perturbed at the large stock on hand of 5 848 back numbers of *Rhodesiana.* I urge members to consider purchasing back numbers as gifts at Christmas time and for birthdays for their relatives and friends. With retail book prices in Rhodesia having reached a ridiculously high level and with the range of new books on bookshop shelves these days being very limited, our journal is excellent value for money at $3 per copy.

Finance

Like everyone else the Society is affected by rising costs particularly as regards printing and stationery.

As an example, the envelopes which carry your copy of *Rhodesiana* to you twice a year cost the Society no less than 8,671 cents each. I repeat, Ladies and Gentlemen, 8,671 cents each.

The Society ends the year with accumulated funds of $4 914. Looking at the year itself our excess of revenue over expenditure is $459 compared with $472 for last year.

Branch Activities

Apart from the journal, the Society achieves its aims and objects through its Branches which do such a wonderful job in flying the Society's flag in areas outside the Society's headquarters. As always the Matabeleland Branch has enjoyed an active year and I congratulate the Branch Chairman and his Committee on their achievement. The Manicaland Branch after a few quiet years is again becoming active. The Mashonaland Branch, normally very active, has been considerably affected by military commitments. However, two interesting and enjoyable functions have taken place and the branch has organised an all-day symposium as part of the Society's Jubilee Celebrations in May 1978.

TOM MEIKLE'S PIEBALD MULE

On page 18 of our last issue, March 1978, in an article on historic houses in Bulawayo, a reference is made to Tom Meikle's trap and a "piebald horse".

The late Col. J. de Lisle Thompson pointed out that the animal was in fact a piebald mule which was "unique in the equine world"

The Rhodesiana Society

Constitution

Name

1. The name of the Society shall be "The Rhodesiana Society" (hereinafter referred to as "the Society").

Objects

2. (1) The objects of the Society shall be —
   (a) to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of Rhodesian history;
   (b) to publish a journal or other similar publication to further this aim;
   (c) to hold meetings, to arrange field expeditions and to take part in any other kind of relevant activity;
   (d) to co-operate with the National Archives or any other Society or organisation with similar objects to those of the Society;
   (e) to promote and further the interests of collectors of books and items of historical interest relating to Rhodesia;
   (f) to give support to any proposals for the preservation of buildings of historical significance.

   (2) These objects shall not exclude interest in the history of those neighbouring countries with which Rhodesia has an historical association.

Membership

3. (1) Membership of the Society shall be open to all persons and institutions interested in furthering the objects of the Society.

   (2) Annual Subscriptions shall be due and payable on the 1st January each year and shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee who, in determining the amount of the subscription, shall pay regard to the Society's income and expenditure.
   Provided, however, that the subscription for individual members shall not exceed $8, the subscription for family members shall not exceed $10 and Life Membership shall not exceed $125.

   (3) Should any member fail to pay such annual subscription before the 1st June in any year, he shall be deemed to have resigned his membership of the Society.

   (4) Any institution which is a member of the Society may appoint any person to represent it at any meeting of the Society and attend, vote and speak on its behalf.

   (5) Such representative may be elected as an office-bearer as if he himself were a member of the Society.

Headquarters

4. The headquarters of the Society shall be in Salisbury or such other place in Rhodesia as may be decided at the Annual General Meeting.

Management

5. (1) The Management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a National Executive Committee (hereinafter called "the Committee") consisting of —
   (a) a National Chairman: and
   (b) a National Deputy Chairman; and
   (c) a National Honorary Secretary; and
   (d) a National Honorary Treasurer: and
   (e) nine members.

   (2) The Committee shall be elected to office annually at the Annual General Meeting and shall hold office until the conclusion of the next Annual General Meeting.

   (3) The nine members referred to in paragraph (e) of subclause (1) shall include at least one representative of each Branch of the Society.

   (4) No person shall hold office as National Chairman for more than two years in succession; and no person shall hold office as National Deputy Chairman for more than two years in succession.

   (5) The quorum of Committee meetings shall be four and in the case of an equality of voting the Chairman shall have a casting vote.

   (6) The Committee shall have the power —
   (a) to convene General Meetings;
   (b) to control the funds of the Society;
   (c) to appoint an Auditor to audit the accounts of the Society;
   (d) to appoint an Editor to edit the Publications of the Society;
   (e) to co-opt any member as a member of the Committee provided that a co-opted member shall only remain a member of the Committee until the next Annual General Meeting;
   (f) to form sub-committees and determine the terms of reference of such sub-committees:
   (g) to establish Branches of the Society in any area of Rhodesia and to define the powers of such Branches:
   (h) generally to do all such things as may in the opinion of the Committee be necessary and expedient to further the objects of the Society.

   (7) The Chairman shall submit to every Annual General Meeting of members a report on the activities of the Society since the date of the previous Annual General Meeting.

   (8) The Committee shall meet at least twice in every year for the despatch of business.

(9) Each Branch established in terms of paragraph (g) of subclause (6) of clause 5 shall have power and authority to raise and disburse funds for Branch purposes without reference to the Committee but shall submit to the Committee an annual statement of receipts and payments.

Honorary President, Honorary Vice-President and Honorary Members

6. Two patrons and an Honorary President and an Honorary Vice-President and Honorary Members of the Society may be elected by members at an Annual General Meeting.

Meetings

7. (1) There shall be held not later than the thirty-first day of March in each year a meeting of members which shall be known as the Annual General Meeting.

(2) Other meetings of members, which shall be known as Special General Meetings, may be called at any time by the Committee and the Committee shall call a Special General Meeting if requested to do so in writing by not less than five members of the Society.

(3) Notice of a Special General Meeting shall be given within one month of the request being received by the Committee.

(4) Notice of all Annual and Special General Meetings of members shall be given to all members of the Society in writing and shall be posted to all members not less than twenty-one days before the date of the meeting.

(5) Notices of meetings shall state the business to be transacted at the meeting.

(6) The Chairman of the Society, or failing him, the Deputy Chairman shall take the Chair at all General Meetings of members of the Society, provided that if neither are present, the members present at the meeting shall elect one of their number as Chairman of the meeting.

(7) The quorum for an Annual or Special General Meeting of members shall be twelve members personally present.

Voting

8. (1) Each member of the Society shall be entitled to vote at all Annual and Special General Meetings of members of the Society and each member shall have one vote on any resolutions which may be placed before such meeting.

(2) At all meetings of members of the Society the Chairman of the meeting shall have a casting vote.

(3) Voting shall be by show of hands by members present in person, providing that if five members present in person at the meeting demand a poll, a poll shall be taken in such manner as the Chairman of the meeting may decide.

Accounts

9. (1) The financial year of the Society shall be from 1st January to 31st December in each year.

(2) The Committee shall maintain proper financial records which shall at all times show a true and fair view of the finances of the Society.

(3) The audited statement of accounts in respect of the previous financial year shall be placed before each Annual General Meeting of members, and a copy of such statement shall be posted to each member at least 21 days before the date of such meeting.

Publications

10. Each member of the Society and each husband or wife member, having paid his subscription, shall be entitled to receive one copy of all publications by the Society during the financial year and shall receive such copy without payment, unless the Committee decides that payment shall be made therefor.

Amendments to the Constitution

11. This Constitution may at any time be amended by a majority of the members present and voting at an Annual General Meeting or Special General Meeting of members, provided that notice of the proposed amendment has been posted to members at least 21 days before the date of the meeting.

THE CONSTITUTION WAS ADOPTED BY MEMBERS AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING HELD IN SALISBURY ON THE 21ST MARCH, 1969. As GIVEN ABOVE IT CONTAINS AMENDMENTS MADE SINCE THAT DATE.

Notes

MURRAY MACDOUGALL AND THE STORY OF TRIANGLE

Murray MacDougall was not only one of the most progressive and forceful of the Rhodesian settlers of the early years of the century, he was also a most attractive character.

In a book with the above title, Dr. Colin Saunders relates the life and times of this remarkable Scot who first opened up the vast area that now comprises the irrigated farm lands and sugar estates of the south-east Lowveld.

He sub-titles the book — "An epic of Land, Water and Man" and indeed that is not an exaggerated description.

Murray MacDougall was born in Argyllshire, Scotland in 1881 and, after an adventurous life in the Argentine and Brazil, with President Castro's army in Venezuela in 1898 and on the sugar fields of British Guiana he came to South Africa in 1902. There he led a hard life as a transport contractor with a waggon and a team of mules. He arrived in Rhodesia, also transport riding, in 1908. In 1912 he obtained an option on 300 000 acres in the Lowveld but the 1914 war broke out before he could take up the option. He went off to Europe becoming commissioned in the British Army as a Transport Officer. He won the M.C. and was twice mentioned in despatches.

Back in Rhodesia after the war he was able to take up his option on the 300 000 acres at about 4½d. an acre. This area now comprises, roughly, the properties of Triangle, Buffalo Range and Hippo Valley Estates.

First of all he tried cattle ranching but the bottom fell out of the market in 1922 and he turned to irrigated crops. He built the first weir, Jatala, on the Mtilikwe river. The government irrigation department advised against this as, before the water could be used on his lands, it would be necessary to dig tunnels through two granite kopjes. But MacDougall did it. The Jatala Weir is now a National Monument and the story of the feat is told in bald, simple fashion on the plaque at the weir. It reads —

"From this weir, built in 1923, Thomas Murray MacDougall led water from the Mtilikwe River through two tunnels, hewn by hand over seven years for a distance of 1 400 feet through solid rock, and then to his lands through a canal eight miles long. This historic enterprise was the first development in the Lowveld's great irrigation project."

It was a herculean task undertaken by a single unprofessional white man with a handful of raw Shangaan Africans. Work had to be stopped each rainy season as the tunnels became blocked with water. An enormous ditch had to be dug between the two kopjes and, in addition to the canal, a syphon had to be

built out of home-made concrete pipes cast on the site. This massive piece of early civil engineering was accomplished without sophisticated mechanical equipment — merely Africans with picks, shovels and wheelbarrows, teams of oxen pulling scoops and MacDougall using his rifle sights to plot, with absolute accuracy, the entrances and exits of the tunnels.

MacDougall soon had 200 acres under irrigation planted with wheat, cotton, citrus, tropical fruits and burley tobacco but it was the depredations of queleas and locusts that persuaded him to turn to sugar in 1934.

The book relates in detail the development of the sugar estate, MacDougall's financial difficulties and the eventual sale of the estate to the government in 1940. MacDougall retired to Scotland in 1945 but came back in 1947 buying a farm in the Fort Victoria district. He died in 1964, a widely honoured pioneer of irrigated farming and a man of great public spirit whose memory is perpetuated in the Murray MacDougall Museum at Triangle, the Murray MacDougall School and the Murray MacDougall Scholarships.

The author tells the personal story in the first half of the book; the latter half being concerned with the development of Triangle after MacDougall, and the industrial and financial growth of the sugar industry in the country.

A most valuable contribution to Rhodesiana, the book is published in limp cover, by Triangle, at $1,25.

MEDALS, SOUVENIRS AND SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

Elsewhere in this issue special attention is drawn to special items of interest and value that the Society has for sale to members. These are — The Society's Bronze Medal (page 98): the commemorative Jubilee Beer Mugs (page 3); the Portfolio of Historic Botanical Prints and the Mashonaland Branch Brochure No. 8 which contains the history of the Marandellas, Bromley and Melfort areas, (page 67).

THE ARTS OF RHODESIA

No. I, 1978, Annual of the National Arts Foundation of Rhodesia, entitled *Arts Rhodesia,* is an attractive publication with numerous illustrations both in colour and black and white. It lacks a full explanatory *raison d'etre,* a short introduction merely stating that the Arts Foundation was established by Statute in 1971 providing a body through which finance from government and the private sector could be channelled into the arts and it is hoped that this publication will arouse a greater interest in the cultural life of Rhodesia. A resume of the act would have been appropriate in this first issue.

The leading article is a comprehensive and competent general survey of Rhodesian Art by Patricia Wood of the National Gallery. It ranges from

prehistoric rock art through traditional and tribal arts and artefacts, the paintings and drawings of early European travellers to contemporary painters and the Shona "school" of African sculptors. Neil Jardine writes on "Drama in Education"; Wallace Van Zyl on "Arts in the City Centre" with examples from Canada; Brian Bradshaw, Director of the National Gallery, on Robert Paul whom he considers to be the "foremost" painter in Rhodesia today. Noel Brettell in "Rhodesian Poetry of a Decade" quotes some evocative verse that has been published internationally.

Rhodesia has also made its mark internationally in Ballet. George Hindley outlines the development of ballet culminating in the foundation of the National Ballet in 1959 with Merle Park as its Patron. He points out that at the moment there are 25 Rhodesian dancers, men and women, with external companies in Britain, (10 with the Royal Ballet), West Germany and South Africa.

The oldest orchestras were formed in Bulawayo, a performance of the Messiah with orchestral accompaniment having been performed there in 1898 John Wylcotes traces the development of symphonic music in the country up to the formation of the National Symphony Orchestra in 1977, by combining the orchestras of Bulawayo and Salisbury in a series of concerts in both cities.

Arthur Azevedo tells of his "Experiences in Metal Sculpture" with some striking illustrations. Walter Krog describes the establishment of the African Literature Bureau and its encouragement of creative writing in Shona and Ndebele.

The last article — "Zimbabwe Ruins: a Mystery Solved" by Helmut K. Silberberg has been referred to elsewhere as being "controversial". But the author is an archaelogist and his dating and attribution to Bantu builders are no different from those of other archaeologists. An arresting title and an emphasis that one period of Zimbabwe dating corresponds with the rule of Harun al-Raschid, Caliph of Baghdad, ensure a popular flavour to the article. Since the writer concentrates a great deal on the architectural features and decoration of Zimbabwe it thus qualifies to be included in one of the arts — that of architecture.

This is an excellent start to a worthy venture. The field is much wider, of course, than can be represented in one issue. As an historical society we would like to see all the various arts societies record a full history of their origin and development.

Correspondence

DEATH OF EDWARD C. TABLER

The following letter has been received, dated 30th May 1978, from Elizabeth A. Tabler of 213 Clarksburg Street, Mannington, West Virginia, U.S.A.:

"At the request of my sister-in-law I am sending you this belated announcement of the death of a life member of the Rhodesiana Society. Edward C. Tabler died on October 16, 1977, in his home in South Charleston, West Virginia, a victim of cancer.

"My brother was the first recipient of the gold medal, bestowed by the Rhodesian Pioneers and Early Settlers Society in recognition of his research, interest and writings about East and South Africa, an honour which he valued highly.

"Those members who were acquainted with him know that part of his heart always belonged to Rhodesia, and his ties with your country meant very much to him."

Mr. E. E. Burke has supplied the following list of writings by Edward C. Tabler:

BOOKS

Captain Harris and his book (The Wild sports of Southern Africa): a biographical and bibliographical essay. 1944.

The far interior: chronicles of pioneering in the Matabele and Mashona countries. 1847-1879. 1955.

Pioneers of Rhodesia. 1966.

Pioneers of South West Africa and Ngamiland, 1738-1880. 1973.

Pioneers of Natal and South Eastern Africa, 1552-1878. 1977.

HE EDITED THE FOLLOWING

The recollections of William Finaughty, elephant hunter, 1864-1875. 1957.

Zambezia and Matabeleland in the seventies: the narrative of Frederick Hugh Barber, 1815 and 1877-78, and the journal of Richard Frewen, 1877-1878. I960.

Trade and travel in early Barotseland: the diaries of George Westbeech, 1885-1888, and Captain Norman MacLeod, 1875-1876. 1963.

The Zambezi papers of Richard Thornton, geologist to Livingstone's Zambezi expeditions. 1963.

To the Victoria Falls via Matabeleland: the diary of Major Henry Stabb, 1875. 1967.

Sport and service in South Africa: the diary of Lieutenant Robert Arkwright, 1843-1846. 1971.

Travels in the interior of South Africa, 1849-1963: hunting and trading journeys from Natal to Walvis Bay and visits to Lake Ngami and Victoria Falls edited from the original manuscript . . . {by James Chapman). 1971.

HE WROTE INTRODUCTIONS TO

Portraits of the game and wild animals of Southern Africa, by Sir William Cornwallis Harris. 1969.

The recollections of William Finaughty . . . 1973 ed. by Books of Rhodesia.

Through Matabeleland: the record of a ten month trip in an ox-waggon through Mashonaland and Matabeleland, by Joseph Garbett Wood. 1974.

Reviews

A Non-Racial Island of Learning, a History of the University College of Rhodesia from its Inception to 1966 by Michael Gelfand. (Mambo Press. 1978. Stiff cover. pp. 376. Illustrations. Vol. IV in the Zambeziana Series. Price S9,80).

It is not surprising that Professor Michael Gelfand's history of the University College of Rhodesia is a bulky volume, for it gives details of the problems, the discussions, and the arguments which were part of the birth and growth of the institution, and its development and the disturbances which accompanied it.

Institutions of any kind must have a period of growth. For some there is an effort to survive. The University College has certainly had inordinate problems. That they were overcome is a tribute to those who, with supreme faith, battled against all the adversaries opposing the establishment of an autonomous higher seat of learning in Rhodesia.

The leader of those who fought was Manfred Hodson, a man of the highest calibre. Having manoeuvred and obtained a favourable issue to one proposal, he moved on to the next and the next, until success had been achieved.

The setting up of the Federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland helped the infant institution. It was laid down that, for admission, educational attainments and good character alone would be taken into consideration. The University's role as a non-racial seat of learning had been established. The contribution of the all-important relationship with the London University, the interest of the Inter-University Council and the grant of a million and a quarter pounds sterling by the Commonwealth Relations Office seemed to ensure certainty that the College would become viable. The new constitution had to ensure complete autonomy from Government control or interference in College affairs. It was considered the best way to achieve this was by a Royal Charter.

In 1953, the Interim Principal, Dr. William Rollo, was appointed. The problem of amendment to the Land Apportionment Act, so that Africans could live on the University site, was solved.

The Charter came into being in 1955. In the same year Walter Adams was appointed as the permanent Principal. Ten professors joined the staff. New developments were planned and the decision to establish a Faculty of Medicine announced. The Queen Mother was invited to become President of the College. There was a period of great activity in readiness for the admission of full time students in 1957. Academic staff were appointed, buildings erected, and, on 5th July 1957, Her Majesty, the Queen Mother, was installed as President.

For the next five years development continued. Donations for specific courses of study were made while a beginning was made with research. The three halls of residence were completed.

Then there came a period of uncertainty as it became evident the Federation would come to an end. Doubts regarding the block grants made by the Federal Government arose. Some members of staff resigned and there were difficulties in replacing them. Political and racial tensions mounted with the break-up of the Federation, the rise of the Rhodesian Front, the Unilateral Declaration of Independence, the imposition of sanctions and the bitterness between African National groups.

The Principal had no easy task. He had dissident members of the staff. There were student demonstrations and finally a strike against attendance at lectures. The possibility of the closure of the College was considered. The troubles became so serious that it was decided to call an independent commissioner to conduct an enquiry. The report of Dr. Birley had the desired effect of settling feelings and allowing the College to continue its main function of teaching. So despite its difficult period and experiences the institution survived.

As one would expect in a book written by such an experienced author as Professor Gelfand the reading is easy. It has a list of references, a bibliography and a list of names of students who obtained certificates, degrees and diplomas during the period covered.

The book is a current history of an important factor of Rhodesia's heritage. It should be read by all Rhodesians.

G. H. TANSER

The Quiet Man. A biography of the Hon. Ian Douglas Smith, I.D., Prime Minister of Rhodesia by Phillippa Berlyn. (M. O. Collins Ltd., Salisbury. 1978. 256 pages. End maps. Illustrations. Price $11,50).

One gets a different view of Ian Douglas Smith from this book. Instead of the somewhat aloof politician who keeps infuriating his critics, we have here a picture of a warm, friendly, very human man who would much prefer to be on his farm than in his office.

Phillippa Berlyn has written this book superbly. The writing is simple and straightforward, the choice of words apt to the subject, and the reader goes with the flow. Her description of Ian Smith's career in the R. A.F. and his sojourn in Italy with a peasant family and later with the Partisans in their operations against the enemy is very easy to read.

Ian Smith emerges with depths of character not revealed by his public utterances. He is a farmer to the core. Not only is he thoroughly knowledgeable about the practical aspects of farming, but since he took an economics degree at Rhodes he knows the business side, too. And that has stood him in good stead through the years.

It is not surprising, therefore, that he will become a full-time farmer again when he doffs his political mantle. The wonder is that he has been able to

endure the hurly-burly of political life when he has had such a haven as his farm at Selukwe to retire to.

Miss Berlyn says he is a good farmer, very well served by his black labour force. As she says, "It takes more than good farming knowledge to create the loyalty that keeps his black labourers working for him for three decades."

And there, perhaps, is the secret of his appeal to the average white Rhodesian, that in election after election has given him a clean sweep of all the white seats — he is a typical Rhodesian. The typical Rhodesian gets on well with his black fellow Rhodesians, so much so that race relations in Rhodesia are the best in Africa, North or South. In many ways Smith represents the *average* white Rhodeian who keeps firmly to the middle of the road, not too far left, not too far right.

But Miss Berlyn is not concerned with Ian Smith the politician as she is with Ian Smith the man. A political analysis of the man who has led this country for the 14 years must wait until his career can be viewed in proper perspective. In the meantime this book provides a useful background.

The author gives a clear and concise description of political events leading up to UDI and particularly the Federal episode, which was an essential element in that cataclysmic decision. The subsequent negotiations on *Tiger* and *Fearless* are also well recounted.

The book's historical value is augmented by a most useful appendix on the Constitutional History of Rhodesia by J. Reid Rowland, a Salisbury advocate. In outline form the reader is given an excellent potted version of the main events in our history from before the Occupation up to the 1969 Constitution.

This book is far more than a biography of Ian Douglas Smith. Every Rhodesian, white and black, should have it on his shelves.

W. D. GALE

Fact and Fiction, by F. W. T. Posselt. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1978. Rhodesiana reprint library — Silver series, vol. 19. [26], 210 pages, illus. Price $10,45).

"Fact and fiction" — the title needs the enlargement given by the subtitle in the original: "A short account of the natives of Southern Rhodesia". The volume is not quite that either, it is a collection of articles written in the 1920's and 1930's on various aspects of African traditions and beliefs.

The volume, first published in 1935, with a revised edition in 1942, by a master of his subject, represented one of the first major contributions to the proper study of the African historical background. For so long, except by a few, it was thought that the African had no history; he was where he might always have been, doing the same thing through the centuries, except of course for the

Matabele who had had a "kingdom" and a dominion which, until the fall of Lobengula, had demanded a respect.

It was amongst Posselt and some of his contemporaries in the old Native Department that the wider history began to be looked at. Indeed this was one of the purposes of NADA (Native Affairs Department Annual) instituted in 1923, from which some of these studies are reprinted.

Fritz Posselt came to the Native Department in 1908 from experience in African administration in Natal and the Transvaal; for twelve years he was stationed in Matabeleland and for ten, to 1932, at Marandellas.

Writing in the original Foreword the then Governor, Sir Herbert Stanley perceptively said of the author — "He recognises the value of folk-lore as a guide towards the elucidation and comprehension of the drives and fears, the motives and inhibitions, the potentialities and limitations that coalesce in the complex of racial or national character. Without some insight into the subliminal consciousness of the Bantu, we cannot hope to achieve that understanding which is vitally necessary to us . . ."

The original publication is extremely scarce and this reprint is very timely. It benefits from a very thought-provoking introduction by Roger Howman, himself descended from the same generation of older Native Commissioners, to give them an outdated but nevertheless distinguished name.

Most strongly to be recommended.

E. E. BURKE

Great Grandma's Cookery Book (Rhodesia's First Cookery Book). (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo. Limp cover. New introduction and frontispiece. 135 pages. Price $2,50).

This reprint, first published under the title "Bulawayo Cookery Book and Household Guide", and printed by Philpott and Collins in 1909, is yet another excellent product of the present publishers, who have for many years now sought out and reprinted for us so much of our heritage.

I find this small (136 pages) limp-back fascinating. Not so much for the recipes contained in it, but more for the advertisements that interleave it throughout. For example McCullagh and Bothwell offer Boys Rugby and Norfolk suits from 12/6 to 30/-. You could also in those days stay at the Queen's Hotel for 2/6 or have a meal there for 2/-. You could also buy "Officer's Mess" (very superior) cigarettes at 6d. for 10. In all the advertisements it is nice to note that in those days your custom was solicited. Unlike today's hard-sell — "It washes whiter" (than what?), it's better, or cheaper, etc.

The recipes are good tried old family dishes, submitted by people who are still well known in Rhodesia. There are some that seem strange in their context

for example, under veld cookery is a recipe for curried lobster! There are also frequent references to oysters, shrimps and anchovies, so they didn't do too badly, unlike sanction-ridden Rhodesia of today!

All in all this is a book that not only has considerable value as a cook book, but also is amusing to read.

I particularly like the "New Testament Cake" and the recipe for "To make a Housekeeper".

P. C. D. EATON

Year of the Uprising by Stanlake Samkange. (Heinemann Educational Books. 1978. Paperback. African Writers Series. M. 190. 150 pages. Price 95p.).

Some twenty years ago, in *Rhodesiana No.* 2, I wrote that we must expect the African to seek a return to his past and in writing his own history mould it into something emotionally satisfying. So would come an opportunity to watch "just how a people appropriate history for the emotional and political satisfaction it can give them". This book is a fine example.

As a vocal nationalist Samkange can be expected to interpret Rhodesian history in uninhibited emotionally satisfying terms. As a professor of history he would be aware of professional standards. Perhaps that is why he wrote a novel to allow fiction more scope and, because he wrote within a context of aggressive political perspectives, he could hardly have found better ammunition with which to assail his political foes, or add conviction to his political cause, than the selection of the years when there was "a deplorable mixture of ignorance, neglect and irresponsibility" (R. Blake's *'History of Rhodesia'),* the time Rhodesia went through her insensitive frontier trauma of birth, fortunately so brief a period compared with other frontier societies.

It seems we can never escape from images in history, romantic or otherwise. The white man produced images of "savage Africa", "degraded humanity" with no history in the dark continent. Naturally the black man challenges such images by installing his own. Samkange pictures the Mashona as having a long and proud history, a powerful supreme spirit, a high level of organisation and a worthy way of life to contrast with the brutality of the whites.

He uses his undoubted literary and fictional skills to issue history through personifications and dialogue; to contrive — among many contrivances — the assemblage of characters who are assigned historical names: and to cast them in the roles of heroes and perverts of 1896/7 with scant regard to historical validity.

Minor errors such as mixing up "S.N.G." of Belingwe with his brother "H. M. G. Jackson" of Fort Usher, can be passed over but it is surely unacceptable use of artistic licence to locate Great Zimbabwe — with priests filling a vast space within a wall thirty feet high and people like locusts in the plain — at Matojeni in the Matopos! And considering that the term "Zimbabwe" was only

adopted as a name for the country by some political party decision in the 1950s — a time when Ghana set a fashion for ancient empire glories — its a blatant distortion for political purposes to attribute to Mkwati in 1897 the sentiments expressed in verse about Zimbabwe.

The book closes with repetition of those verses, a kind of inspiration to nationalist emotion, mixed up with an extremist pen-picture of street hooliganism for a final stab at political foes. This does the author no credit and as a finishing touch to his image-making it may have given political satisfaction but as a contribution to inter-racial attitudes in a political climate of settlement and good-will Samkange will probably regret having composed it.

ROGER HOWMAN

Great Dams in Southern Africa by Henry Olivier (Purnell & Sons, Cape Town. 1978. 232 pages. Illustrations in colour and black and white: maps: designs. Price R17,50).

This splendid book claims, modestly, to be an illustrated reference book on 46 major dams in Africa south of the Sahara.

The author, and editor, Umtali-born Dr. Henry Olivier, C.M.G., M.Sc. (Eng.), Ph.D. (London), D.Eng. (Rand), Beit Engineering Fellow with many other honours was once Senior Consultant to Alexander Gibb & Partners. He has had a hand in many of the great schemes of Africa including those at Owen Falls in Uganda, Kariba in Rhodesia, Cabora Bassa in Mozambique, dams in Zambia and on the Orange River in South Africa,

The greater part of the book is taken up with technical studies of the construction and operation of the 46 dams. The term "large dam" has an internationally accepted definition on a complicated formula based on one of several factors — height of dam wall, length of crest, capacity of reservoir, flood discharge, unusual design and so on. South Africa alone has over 300 "large dams" and so the book can only deal with a selection throughout the whole sub-continent. The Rhodesian dams dealt with are — Kariba, Kyle, McIlwaine, Lesapi, Upper Ncema, Bangala, Darwendale, Manjirenji (Lake MacDougall), Gwenora and Ngwezi. In each case the historical and economic background to the building of the dam is given and moreover, attention is drawn to unusual features, to any beauties of the dam wall and to the aesthetics of the artificial lakes.

Some visionary and imaginative, albeit practical, schemes are envisaged. It should be possible to link the whole of sub-Saharan Africa from Uganda in the east to Inga at the mouth of the Congo (Zaire) river in the west and to the Cape in the extreme south in one interconnected electrical grid system based on thermal and existing hydro-electric schemes. This is not a dream now that Kariba and Cabora Bassa have shown the way to transmit electrical energy

over long distances. A map illustrates that but for a gap between Bulawayo and Messina a line could already run from Inga to the Cape.

The Zambezi is the only one of the great rivers of Africa that is not navigable over long distances. But with the creation of Cabora Bassa, Kariba and dams on the Kafue it should be possible to transport high value and perishable goods over long distances by small, fast hovercraft with the dam walls being by-passed by "roll on, roll off" container lorries. (Locks are not possible in gorges.).

The vital interdependence of energy and water is stressed by the author and by Mr. John Vorster, Prime Minister of South Africa in a Foreword. This is especially so in South Africa with its rapidly rising population in an area of the world that, because of climate and geology, has not the same reserves of natural agricultural capacity as other continents.

This volume is thus more than just a scientific reference book. It is a beautifully illustrated stimulating and thoughtful treatise on multi-purpose achievements and projects that, if co-ordinated, could lift sub-Saharan Africa out of its largely undeveloped state and bring a better life to all its inhabitants.

W. V. BRELSFORD

African Problems and Challenges by Cas de Villiers. (Valiant Publishers (Pty.) Ltd., Sandton, South Africa. 1976. 210 pages. Price R9,60).

Described as being "a selection of essays on various crucial problems and challenges facing the peoples of Africa", this book, which was published two years ago, is remarkably topical.

The author, Cas de Villiers is the Director of the Foreign Affairs Association in Pretoria and he has been conducting research into the "African situation" for some years, while the scope of his present work may be gauged from the chapter headings of the book, which range from "Political Slogans and Economic Realities" to "The Demise of Democracy" and "Urbanization and the Population Explosion".

His essays on the power and spread of communism, the plight of more than a third of Africa's people who live under military dictatorships, the rise of the one party state, "rampant tribalism", and the massive foreign aid programmes that have resulted in "billions of dollars being washed down the drain", make both fascinating and informative reading and certainly provide an ongoing challenge to ail who live in this continent.

Mr. de Villiers' Africa Calendar is similarly valuable for both the researcher and the laymen as it traces the development of Africa since the "winds of change" speech made by Mr. Harold Macmillan in 1960, and reveals the dramatic turbulence that has shaken and shaped this part of the world in less than two decades.

The author's assessments of the major political as well as the military and socio economic dilemmas of the emergent and often mineral rich states of Africa seem fair and factual, and his conclusions show characteristic realism, understanding and a sympathetic insight. His contention that "Africa needs its own political structure to meet its own specific needs" will appeal to many, and his book should be read by all those who want not only to understand but also to come to terms with the complexities of the pot-pourri of nations that may be found in the melting pot of Africa.

HEATHER JARVIS

Unconsummated Union; Britain, Rhodesia and South Africa 1900-45 by Martin Chanock. (Manchester University Press, 1977. 289 pages. Price £9,50).

Doctor Chanock's book is concerned with the methods employed by the British Government, from the 1880's until recently, in an effort to maintain a white-ruled southern Africa, and to maintain the sympathy of its white population for the Imperial connection.

Implicit in this policy was a determination to entrench and strengthen settler power in Southern Rhodesia, at the expense of developing representative government. Accordingly, the author believes, the Rhodesian settlers acquired a political importance out of all proportion to their numbers.

The author also deals at great length with the developing clash between the Union Government of South Africa and the Chartered Company after 1910. He goes on to discuss the subsequent diversion of the British and Union governments in their approach to 'the native problem'.

Dr. Chanock repeatedly points out that Whitehall saw the future Rhodesia as a political counterpoise to the growth of Afrikaner power in the south, and over several decades it seemed to be in British interests for Southern Rhodesia to be incorporated in the Union. This was a development which the Rhodesian electorate decisively arrested in the Referendum of 1922, a decision which provides the author with a title for his book.

Yet there were many other bewildering shifts in policy at Whitehall during the period under review. For Britain reacted erratically to the international climate, and the author's review of the various plans which were formulated in Whitehall for the re-partition of south-central Africa, provides the most interesting part of this book. For the planners in the Colonial Office suggested so many realignments of international boundaries in the area that they make Hitler's later plans for 'tidying up' the frontiers of Central Europe during the 1940's seem like the work of a mere tyro.

Thus in 1910 Whitehall contemplated the incorporation of the Rhodesias and Bechuanaland as one state. But flushed by victory in 1918, the ideas had been modified: now the plan was to create an immense central African state

comprising Southern Rhodesia, the northern half of Bechuanaland, the Caprivi Strip, Northern Rhodesia west of the pedicle (the so-called 'Railway belt') and central Mozambique, all presumably to be ruled by white settlers sympathetic to British Imperial interests. At the same time South Africa was to absorb South West Africa, southern Bechuanaland, Swaziland and the southern portion of Mozambique. All these changes were of course to be made without regard for African aspirations.

It is to be noted, however, that some pangs of conscience were felt for the Portuguese, if not for the Africans, for a variant of the master plan compensated Portugal for the loss of most of Mozambique by granting her most of Tanganyika.

During the thirties the gnomes at the Colonial Office seem to have opted for less radical changes, for they contemplated the absorption into Southern Rhodesia merely of the 'railway belt' of present day Zambia. But even this modest proposal was quietly shelved after Hitler's assumption of power, when appeasement became the order of the day. For now the planners in London had become aware of the advantages of Germany and Great Britain jointly administering Angola, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, northern Mozambique and Tanganyika as an enormous state which straddled the continent. At the same time South Africa was to absorb the High Commission territories. Southern Rhodesia was to remain on its own, while South West Africa was to be held as a bargaining counter in case the Nazis upped their demands. Lord Bledisloe's later recommendation, however, was to exclude Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland from the Anglo-German condominium.

All these plans were of course forgotten after 1945 and the diplomatic defeat at Suez, and all Britain could think of now was to rid herself of her colonies in Africa. Presumably the civil servants at the Colonial Office put away their crayons and maps of Africa, and drifted off to other posts to concern themselves with unemployment benefits and hand-outs to newly independent states. Meanwhile more sinister figures in the Kremlin were already working on plans to seize power in the areas which had kept their colleagues in London busy for so long. And here in Africa the little groups of white settlers in Rhodesia, who had become something of a nuisance to Britain, occupied their energies with an attempt to keep the hands of the political clock from moving forwards.

Dr. Chanock's book is a scholarly work which will be welcomed by specialists in the history of southern Africa.

O. N. RANSFORD

Large Mammals and a Brave People: Subsistence Hunters in Zambia by Stuart A. Marks. (University of Washington Press. 1976. 254 pages. Illustrations: maps: charts. Price US$15,00).

This volume is a refreshing change from the usual run of social anthropology treatises which are usually heavily weighted with discussions on social systems and kinship organisations.

The author, the son of a missionary, was brought up in what used to be called the Belgian Congo and is, by experience and training, as much an ecologist and conservationist as he is an anthropologist. So, in this study of a small group of Bisa hunters in the Luangwa valley of Zambia, habitat utilisation by both man and animals is the background.

In an Introduction, Professor Desmond Clark, who also worked for many years in Zambia, points out that man was a hunter and food gatherer for more than nine tenths of his existence on earth so that studies of present day hunters such as the Bushman, pygmies and others have a great significance in the construction of the evolution of human behaviour.

The importance of hunting in the Luangwa valley is attributable to the presence of tsetse fly and therefore the absence of domestic livestock. In the past the professional hunters belonged to a highly organised guild. That has gone, but the professional hunters of today are still restricted to lineages of hunters and they still have to be initiated ritually, through the ancestral spirits, into a cadre that is not only bound by codes of behaviour and ritual but that is still regarded with great esteem and ranks high in social status.

The author describes and discusses enough of history and of the various aspects of the Bisa social and cultural system to fit the hunter into the overall tribal matrix and he gives an accurate and technical account of the environment which encompasses both man and beast, providing the resources for both. To complete the picture there is a detailed and scientific check list study of all the larger mammals found in the valley.

Readers of works on social anthropology will find this an interesting and unusual book about a very remote part of central Africa.

W. V. BRELSFORD

South West Africa by Olga Levinson (Tafelberg. Cape Town. 1976. 172 pages. End paper maps. 64 illustrations in colour and black and white).

South West Africa is unique; an amalgam of extremes that can best be described by superlatives. Olga Levinson's command of language and deep love of her country combine to form a compelling and inimitable book. One is not surprised to discover that she lives in a castle in Windhoek.

Born in South Africa, the author has lived in South West since 1943, has written books, articles, film scenarios, is still a well-known broadcaster and has been President of the S.A. Association of Arts (S.W.A.) for 18 years.

In the Prologue, she states the theme that will recur and be resolved as one reads on .. . "South West Africa is a strange land, engendering a love that goes

beyond all logical reasoning. For it is a hard country, and will always remain so; hard and uncompromising; it nevertheless has an inexplicable appeal for all those who live there."

She depicts the loneliness of the Namib desert, the vast arid land of the south cut by the gulf of the Great Fish River Canyon, the red dune-veld of the eastern border, the savannah of the Okavango, the legendary Skeleton Coast and the riches of the cold Atlantic seaboard.

People are the prime interest; one gains an insight into the earliest inhabitants and the newer tribes — Bergdamas, Ovambos, Hereros, Orlams, Basters, the adventurers and colonisers — overland explorers and missionaries, the Germans, the despairing Thirstland trekkers and the many others who contribute to the history of the country.

The conflicting claims of its peoples led to skirmishes, localised rebellions and brutal reprisals spread over many years. German rule was followed by the Mandate, which brought legal struggles and world interest in its wake. Development of the country followed quickly: road building and water preservation, industrial and urban growth, mining, fishing, Karakul sheep farming, and inevitably, tourism. A lively picture of present-day "Namibian" society is drawn highlighting the changes of recent years.

The text is supplemented by well-chosen photographs depicting every facet of life in this primeval and strangely beautiful country.

ROSEMARY KIMBERLEY

The New Transkei by Harvey Campion (Valiant Publishers, Sandton, South Africa. 1976. 158 pages. Price R9,90).

This is the second impression of a book first published in 1976 on the eve of the grant of independence to the Transkei. It is designed as a mixture of reference book and publicity venture to explain the potentialities of the Transkei to the world at large.

In this it is successful even if it tends always to take the most optimistic view of things. There is nothing inherently wrong in this provided the facts are given on which the uncommitted reader can make his deductions and draw his own conclusions. Mr. Campion, who is a journalist working in Natal, has frequently visited the country and seen far more than the average tourist and holidaymaker, has industriously produced a mass of factual information.

It is not difficult to guess that this book will have its greatest value as a work of reference.

In the light of recent events following the break in diplomatic relations between the Transkei and South Africa one comment in the preface makes sad reading. "From this emerged one fact," says Mr. Campion, "and that was that

the story of the Transkei was one of co-operation." No doubt much of the co-operation in technical fields continues between expert bodies in South Africa and Transkeian agencies which need help, but one cannot help fearing that the situation must be affected adversely by the public recriminations between government leaders on both sides.

All in all, however, this is a useful book enhanced by a number of good colour photographs as well as black and white pictures.

W. E. ARNOLD

Masks of Black Africa by Ladislas Segy (Dover Publications Inc., New York. 1976. 248 pages. Map. 264 photographs. USS6,00).

Masks are "a universal phenomenon", says the author. They fulfil an essential human desire in every civilisation and he quotes, briefly, examples from every continent. In Africa the wooden mask is essentially an art of the forest and this volume covers mainly the countries between the Sahara and Zambia. South of that area masks are made more often out of skins, raffia, fibres, reeds and knitted materials.

There are two basic ways of discussing masks. The European would consider them as works of art with emphasis on form, shape, material and divide them according to facial characteristics — geometric or abstract in design, displaying human emotions or animals or spirits and refer perhaps to specific tribal connotations.

But in African culture masks are necessary ritual instruments or cult objects. They are the means by which unseen spiritual powers are brought into the physical world. They are used at initiation rites, at funerals, by secret societies and at ritual dances. Such religio-social functions are aimed at preserving the social cohesion of the group and maintaining that standard of behaviour and morality handed down by the ancestors. So the masks portray the mythology, the legendary human and non-human beings that were associated with the founding of the group and the norms they established.

The African is a sculptor *par excellance.* Although he has a rich oral literature he never created writing; and painting, except in the form of some symbolic and geometric signs, never advanced beyond the cave drawing stage. The only art that developed some sophistication over the centuries was carving and all the African philosophy of life and religion are revealed in carving, especially in masks. This form of African art is semi-abstract and stylised. It had to be as it was interpreting non-naturalistic, spiritual, formless, inner-life concepts. Hence negroid features in masks are not essential and, indeed, not often obvious.

The author's analytical interpretations are deep and for the expert. He says — "we shall consider the Freudian and Jungian approaches and to a large

extent the phenomenological insight into the existence of an intermediate, twilight-zone awareness of reality . . . called preconscious, preverbal, prelogical and prereflective".

This is undoubtedly the finest book on African masks produced to date. The interested general reader can certainly pick his way through the fifty odd pages of theory and analysis to come to the 264 captioned photographs, surely the most representative collection of pictures of masks gathered in one book.

W. V. BRELSFORD

The Foreign Policies of African States, by Olajide Aluko (Ed.), (Hodder & Stoughton, London. 1977. Limp cover. 243 pages. Price £4,50).

Nine authors have combined with the editor to produce a collection of essays on the foreign policy of eleven African states, as far flung as Algeria and Zambia. For obvious reasons, which the editor does not attempt to disguise, little is known of how a newly independent, former colonial state determines its external relations. This book strives to remedy that defect, and does so fairly successfully.

The analysis of the policy of each State dealt with is thorough and the reader is left with a reasonable understanding of why a particular country adopts a particular outlook. Sometimes it is coloured by earlier, imperial links, particularly in the case of the Francophone states. More often than not, however, to dignify an attitude to the rest of the world as 'foreign policy' is a misuse of language.

For, sadly, the policy apparently adopted by a country may be no more than a manifestation of the whim of its ruler for the time being, and has nothing to do with any course of action adopted by its putative government. A typical example of this may be found in Tanzania, where Nyerere is disposed to act without the prior concurrence of his Cabinet — as, for example, in the union with Zanzibar and the break in diplomatic relations with Britain, in 1965 over Rhodesia. Similarly, the touchiness of Nigerian rulers over European attitudes to the Biafran War dictated a *volte-face* in that country's relations with the West, notwithstanding the best interests of the State, which is only now being readjusted. And so on.

What it all adds up to is the, seemingly inherent, instability of African politics. The fact that this book, published only last year, is already out of date in respect of the attitudes of some states mentioned underlines this feature to an alarming degree. It is hoped that Rhodesia will shortly re-enter the international poliical arena and, no doubt, will wish to have viable relations with other African states. A critical study of this collection of essays will enable any future Rhodesian diplomat to approach his problems properly forewarned.

J. G. STORRY

Moshoeshoe: Chief of the Sotho by Peter Sanders. (Heinemann, David Philip, Cape Town. 1975. 368 pages. Illustrations, maps, tables. Price R18,00).

Although there is a long list of works concerned with the rise and survival of the Sotho nation here is a book by an historian which should be well received by the history student. Despite its detailed and scholarly presentation it is well-written and fast moving and whilst one senses the author's sympathy with his subject this is controlled and the whole makes for pleasurable reading.

Most of past writings on this subject have been from the standpoint of Sotho reaction to a European influence from without, but here Mr. Sanders has successfully endeavoured to show that much of the reaction was dictated by the politics within the chiefdom. The relationships between Moshoeshoe and the lesser chiefs and his relatives had tremendous influence upon the decisions and indecisions emanating from Thaba Bosiu because changes in these relationships struck at the very foundations of the nation.

The strength of the Sotho depended largely upon numbers and it was Moshoeshoe's ability to recruit followers from others less able than himself which led to the survival of his chieftainship in the first place. With the increase in numbers came the demand for more land and subordinate chiefs remained satisfied as long as they were able to expand their respective territories as required. Any restriction on expansion led to dissatisfaction and this in turn could lead to groups moving off under their own chief when it was essential that unity be maintained in the face of European advancement.

Moshoeshoe's difficulty was how to appease the Afrikaners and at the same time not disappoint those groups of his people who found themselves overtaken by the advancing Free State frontier. Inaction was often the answer to a problem and Moshoeshoe's behaviour over a boundary decision in 1855 was typical. In this instance he had promised the Boers that he would remove followers from land purchased by them from the Molibeli chief Ntsane in 1842 but when his orders were not obeyed he made no move to enforce them, and in fact there was no removal of people from that area.

It is difficult to agree with the author's general impression that Moshoeshoe became devious only after he had been subjected to harassment by the Afrikaners and deception by the British. The very way in which he was able to survive the *lifaqane* upheaval indicates that he had more than a modicum of cunning in his make-up long before then. The chief's whole manner towards the British and his desire to use them as it suited him in his confrontation with the Afrikaners of the Free State could hardly be said to be recently learned behaviour even considering the advice he received from Missionary Casalis and others. In fact it was this very capacity to be less than straightforward that he found essential to keep the peace among his lesser chiefs and their peoples.

The author rightly concludes that Moshoeshoe realised that by the 1860s the time had come when survival of his nation as a whole depended upon his being 'a child of the Queen'. The chief was early advised by Casalis to place

himself under the protection of the British and this he had endeavoured to do, but upon his own terms. There is no doubt that but for the intervention of Wodehouse in 1869 the whole of the Sotho nation would have come under the control of the Free State Afrikaners. Possibly there was a certain amount of missionary inspired sympathy for the Sotho people and we know that Wodehouse himself favoured annexation but the British were extremely slow to act. Their agreeing to the Settlement which led to the annexation of Basutoland in 1871 was more intended to prevent the expansion of Afrikaner influence. The same policy was largely responsible for granting the Charter for the occupation of Mashonaland in 1890.

E. G. GIBBONS

Crown and Charter: the early years of the British South Africa Company by John S. Galbraith (University of California Press, 1974. 354 pages, illus., price $10,20).

The author is Professor of History at the University of California in Los Angeles and the work one of a distinguished and varied series put out by the University on "Perspectives in southern Africa".

Here he re-examines the creation of the British South Africa Company, the events which led up to it and the following years to the Matabele War, a short time-span of six years from Lobengula's 'Treaty of Peace and Amity' of 11 Feb., 1888 to his death in January 1894.

Professor Galbraith's list of sources is impressive and exhaustive, relying heavily on the material in the National Archives and the Public Record Office but also ranging widely to Oxford, Durham, Edinburgh and Johannesburg. His industry has taken him to all the known material of any significance and in this lies the value of his fresh analysis.

For analysis it is, of the manoeuvres which led to Lobengula's granting of the mineral rights to Rhodes's representatives and of how much the Chief realised of what he was doing when he put his cross to the concession document. The measures for the elimination of rivals are clearly stated. The financial evolution of the Company is set out in a detail which this reader has not seen elsewhere and much of which he found, amongst the complexities of the transactions involved, to be new. In regard to the Africans whose territories came under the hammer the author points out, pertinently,

> "The limits which the Government sought to establish for the prospective Chartered Company had little to do with the rights of an African chief. The Lobengula who mattered was largely an artificial creation whose power was assumed to be unquestioned in the gold regions of the Mazoe Valley and other areas south of the Zambezi claimed by the Portuguese. This invention was essential to undergird the British claim to a sphere of influence as against Portugal . . ."

The scene varies between London, Kimberley, Cape Town, Bulawayo and Salisbury and it is patent how the whole was dominated by Rhodes while the Company's Board of Directors could do little to guide, supervise or restrain, even if they had the inclination to do so.

The original targets and attractions were of course the alleged gold riches of Mashonaland but they proved to be largely illusory and as early as 1892 there was a change of strategy towards the development of the land but by now the Company was in financial trouble, only to be resolved by the war with the Matabele, and their overthrow in 1893.

Professor Galbraith deals impressively with these matters, with the relations with the Portuguese and the attempts at expansion as far as the Congo. This deep research makes this a valuable study and although there is little that is profoundly new there is much that is illuminating. There is one lapse, he refers to the Baines Concession as a verbal one; indeed it was in the first place but it was subsequently put into writing and endorsed by Lobengula and it was this document which the backers of the Company eventually bought in as part of their policy of eliminating rivals who might be able to threaten the structure.

The main characters stand firmly in the author's mind; of Rhodes for example — "Rhodes succeeded in deluding himself, as he convinced others, that his cause was Britain when in fact his cause was Rhodes"; whether the author has demonstrated this satisfactorily is open to argument but the theme is persistent. One misses perhaps a feeling of the excitement, the energies, the pioneering of those who made it all possible, the men and their families who, far from the corridors of power, made it work on the ground.

In summary, a valuable addition to Rhodesian historical analysis.

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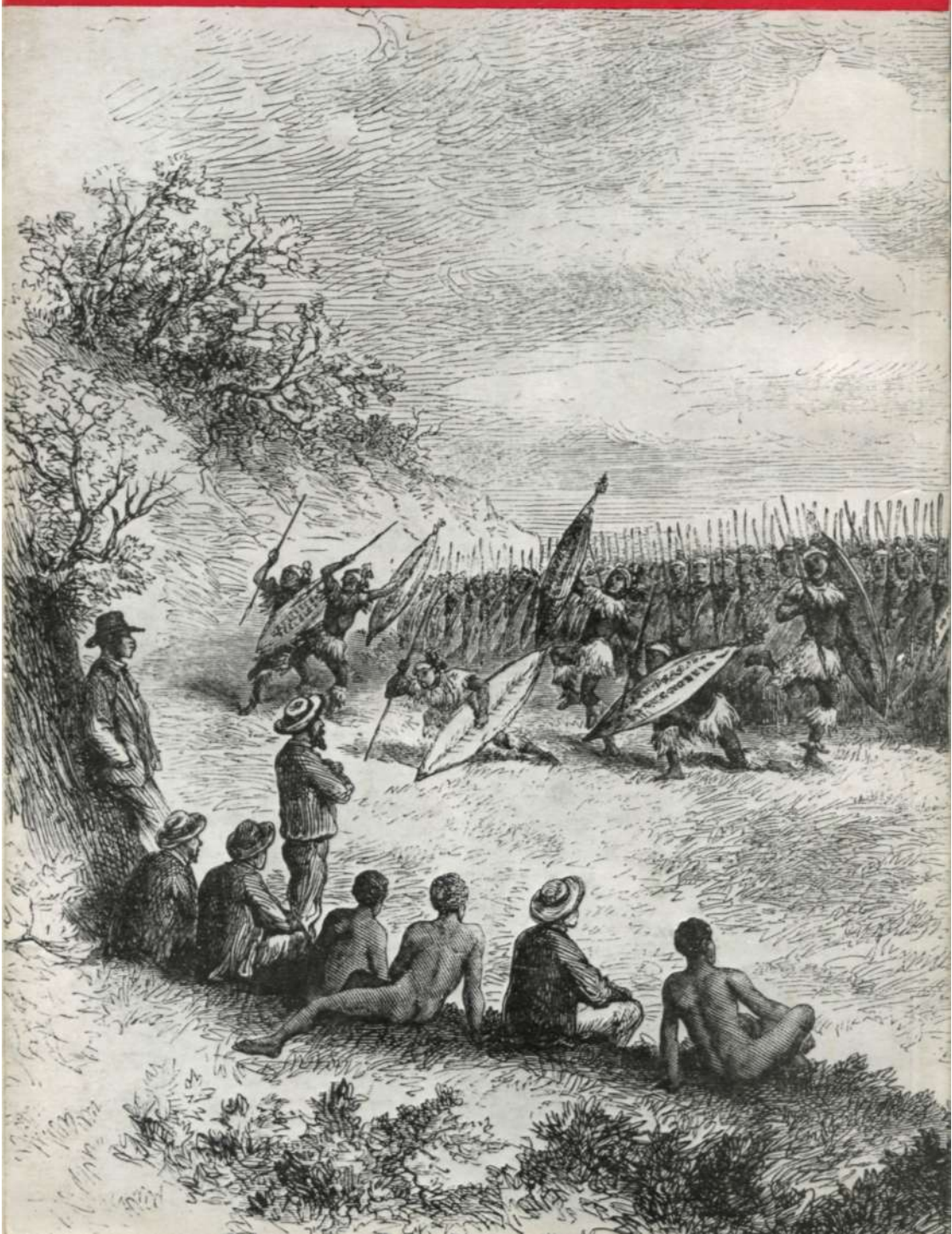
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